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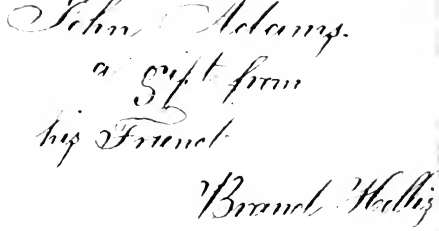

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July 28. 1786.

REMARKS

ON

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

MILTON'S TRACTATE OF EDVCATION

AND AREOPAGITICA.

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is neceſſary to inform the reader, that the following *Remarks* are a ſmall part of a work lately given to the public, wherein occaſion is incidentally taken to exhibit ſome inſtances of the manner in which Milton's character has been treated by ſome of his former biographers and others. About the time *that* ſpecimen was cloſed Dr. Johnſon's *New Narrative* was thrown in the way of the editors, and could not be overlooked without leaving ſome of the more candid and capable judges of Milton's proſe-writings to ſuffer by the illiberal reflections of certain (perhaps well-

meaning) men, who may be led to think that truth, judgment, and impartiality are ſmall matters, when contraſted with what Dr. Johnſon's admirers have thought fit to call, an inimitable elegance of ſtile and compoſition. Our countrymen are certainly intereſted, that wrong repreſentations of the character of ſo capital a writer as John Milton ſhould be corrected, and properly cenſured; and therefore as the work from which the following Remarks are extracted may fall into the hands of very few of the numerous readers of Dr. Johnſon's *Prefaces*, we hope the public will approve of our republiſhing theſe ſtrictures on the Doctor's account of Milton, in a form to which may be had an eaſier and more general acceſs.

We

We have only to add, that it has been thought convenient to ſubjoin to theſe Remarks, new and accurate editions of two of Milton's proſe tracts; *viz.* his Letter to Mr. Samuel Hartlib on Education, and his Areopagitica. The firſt was grown ſcarce, being omitted in ſome editions, both of the author's proſe and poetical works; but highly worthy to be preſerved as preſcribing a courſe of diſcipline, which, though out of faſhion in theſe times, affords many uſeful leſſons to thoſe who may have abilities and courage enough to adopt ſome of thoſe improvements, of which the modes of learned education in preſent practice are confeſſedly ſuſceptible.

The other will of courſe recommend itſelf to all advocates for the liberty of the preſs, and moreover may, in half an hour's reading, entertain ſome part of the public with a contraſt between the magnanimity of Milton, in facing a formidable enemy, and Dr. Johnſon's ſeeſaw meditations, the ſhifty wiles of a man between two fires, who neither dares fight nor run away. Theſe two tracts are publiſhed from the firſt editions.

REMARKS

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REMARKS

ON

JOHNSON's Life of MILTON.

WE were in hope that we had done with Milton's Biographers; and had little foresight that so accomplished an artificer

of language would have condeſcended to bring up the rear of his hiſtorians.

But it was not for the reputation of Dr. Johnſon's politics that Milton ſhould be abuſed for his principles of Liberty by a leſs eminent hand than his own. The minute ſnarlers, or *ſpumoſe* declamers againſt the ſentiments and diction of Milton's proſe-works, had ceaſed to be regarded, till the maxims of ſome of thoſe who pay Dr. Johnſon's quarterages had occaſioned an inquiry into the genuine principles of the Engliſh Government, when the writings of Milton, Sydney, Locke, &c. which the moderation of the laſt reign had left in ſome degree of neglect, were now taken down from the ſhelves where they had ſo long repoſed, to confront the doctrines which,

it

it had been preſumed, would never more come into faſhion.

No man contributed more to reſtore the eſteem and credit of theſe noble patriotic writers than the late ever-to-be-honoured Mr. Hollis, of whoſe beautiful and accurate editions of Sydney's Diſcourſes, of Locke on Government and Toleration, and of Toland's Life of Milton, we have ſpoken largely in another place.

Dr. Johnſon's peace of mind required that this recovering taſte of the public ſhould not ripen into appetite, particularly for Milton's works, whoſe reputation he had formerly taken ſo much elegant pains to depreciate. The ſource of his diſaffection to Milton's principles can

be no ſecret to thoſe who have been converſant in the controverſies of the times. Dr. Johnſon's early and well-known attachments will ſufficiently account for it; and poſterity will be at no loſs to determine whether our biographer's veneration was paid to the *White Roſe* or the *Red* *.

But Dr. Johnſon's particular malevolence to Milton may not be ſo well known, or poſſibly forgot; we ſhall therefore give a ſhort account of its progreſs, from its firſt appearance to its conſummation in this Life of Milton.

In the year 1747, one William Lauder ſent to the Gentleman's Magazine ſome hints of Milton's plagiariſm, in pillaging certain modern writers for the materials of his poem, intituled, *Paradiſe Loſt.*

* See Preface to Milton, p. 2.

Who

Who William Lauder was, what was his character, and of what ſtamp his moral and political principles, may be learned from a pamphlet, intituled, FURIUS, printed for Carpenter, in Fleet-ſtreet, without a date; but, as evidently appears by the Remarks at the end of it, publiſhed ſoon after Lauder's appearance in the Gentleman's Magazine, with his famous diſcoveries.

Congenial politics create connections between men in whoſe abilities there is great diſparity. Buchanan's principles, in his dialogue, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, were equally deteſted by the noted Thomas Ruddiman and William Lauder. But Lauder's malignity could never prevail with the ingenuous Ruddiman to

detract from Buchanan's poetical merit, in compliance with Lauder's furious zeal in favour of Johnſton's Latin tranſlation of David's Pſalms, to which Lauder gave the preference.

In his alliance with Dr. Johnſon, cemented by their mutual antipathy to Milton's principles of civil and religious government, he found a paternal indulgence of his ſplenetic animoſity.

Milton was a Whig, and therefore muſt be a Plagiary; accordingly when the time came that Lauder's ſtrictures in the Gentleman's Magazine had ſwelled into the ſize of a pamphlet of 160 pages, it was uſhered into public by a preface, and finiſhed by a poſtſcript, from the illuſtrious hand of Dr. Samuel Johnſon.

On

On occaſion of theſe head and tail-pieces the ingenious Dr. Douglas, the detector of Lauder's forgeries, writes thus:

"'Tis to be hoped, nay, 'tis *expected*, "that the elegant and nervous writer, "whoſe judicious ſentiments and inimi- "table ſtile point out the author of Lau- "der's Preface and Poſtſcript, will no "longer allow one to *plume himſelf with* "*his feathers*, who appears ſo little to "have deſerved his aſſiſtance; an aſſiſ- "tance which, I am perſuaded, would "never have been communicated, had "there been the leaſt ſuſpicion of thoſe "facts which I have been the inſtrument "of conveying to the world *."

* Milton vindicated from the charge of Plagiariſm, &c. by John Douglas, M. A. for Millar, 1751, p. 77.

This favourable presumption was ill-founded and premature. It appeared afterwards, by the confession of Lauder himself, that "in Johnson's friendship "he placed the most *implicit* and unli-"mited confidence *."

Dr. Johnson had said for his friend, at the end of the *Essay*, that "Lauder's mo-"tives were, a strict regard to truth "alone, &c. and none of them taken "from any difference of country, or of "sentiments in political or religious "matters †." This Lauder, in his pamphlet of 1754, expressly contradicted, and avowed motives of party and premeditated deception ‡. Here the cat leaped

* King Charles I. vindicated, p. 3, 4.

† Essay, p. 163.

‡ King Charles I. vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism, brought against him by Milton. Printed for Owen, 1754, p. 11.

out

out of the bag. It was now notorious that the fable had been inverted. The Lion roared in the Aſs's Skin; and if the Lion had not the whole aſinine plan communicated to him *à priori*, Lauder's confidence in his friend Johnſon was neither implicit nor unlimited.

Dr. Johnſon, indeed, *it is to be ſuſpected*, took upon him the patronage of Lauder's project from the beginning; and bore his part in the controverſy retailed in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1747. There is at leaſt a HIGH DEGREE OF PREPOLLENT PROBABILITY, that the Letter in that Magazine for the month of Auguſt, page 363, 364, ſigned WILLIAM LAUDER, came from the amicable hand of Mr. Samuel Johnſon.

In

In the year 1751 was publiſhed Lauder's penitential letter * to Dr. Douglas, containing a full and free confeſſion of his roguery: the merit of which was totally overthrown by a contradictory poſtſcript; which is thus accounted for by Lauder himſelf, after informing his readers, that his confidential friend adviſed an *unreſerved* diſcloſure of his impoſture.

"With this expedient," ſays Lauder, "I then chearfully complied, *when that* "*gentleman wrote for me that letter that* "*was publiſhed in my name to Mr. Doug-*"*las*, in which he committed one error "that proved fatal to me, and at the "ſame time injurious to the public. For

* Quarto, printed for Owen, 1751.

"in

" in the place of acknowledging that " ſuch particular paſſages only were in- " terpolated, he gave up the whole eſſay " againſt Milton as deluſion and miſre- " preſentation, and therefore impoſed " more grievouſly on the public than I " had done ; and that too in terms much " more ſubmiſſive and abject than the " nature of the offence required *."

The amanuenſis here gained two conſiderable points. 1. It was at his option to mention or not the aſſiſtance that Lauder had in compoſing his eſſay ; and conſequently to conceal in what degree the fraud was communicated to him from the beginning. 2. He effectually anſwered Mr. Douglas's expectation, who

* Vindication of King Charles I. p. 4.

would

would naturally conclude that Lauder had no accomplices in his villany, except the jeſuits.

But they who read Lauder's complaints of this confidential friend in the pamphlet juſt quoted, muſt ſuperabound both in faith and charity, if they can believe that the compoſer of the letter to Mr. Douglas was unconſcious of Lauder's forgery, previouſly to Dr. Douglas's detection of it.

A poſtſcript to a ſecond edition of Dr. Douglas's *Vindication*, dated May 17, 1756, finiſhed the controverſy. Lauder was diſgraced with the public, and diſcarded by his amanuenſis, who turned a deaf ear to all his reproaches, and abandoned him to his fate, with a cool philoſophical

ſophical apathy, void of all ambition to ſhare with him the bluſhing honours himſelf had ſo generouſly contributed to chicken upon Lauder's devoted head.

The effects of his journey-work, in defaming Milton, being thus diſappointed by the laudable diligence of Dr. Douglas, and the unmanageable petulance of Lauder, common prudence ſuggeſted to our biographer the expedience of ſuppreſſing his impatience for another opportunity of leſſening the public veneration for Milton's merit. Accordingly he laid by his project for about two years, when he might reaſonably hope his manœuvres, under the hide of Lauder, would be forgotten, or laid aſleep by a ſucceſſion of that variety of entertainment

which

which the preſs is always providing for the public on all ſorts of ſubjects.

In January 1758 he releaſed himſelf from his quarentine, and appeared in the Literary Magazine for that month, holding forth to the public his POETICAL SCALE, the particulars of which, ſave what relates to Milton, we leave to the critics by profeſſion. This is what he ſays of Milton:

"I am ſenſible that in the calculations "I have here exhibited I have, in many "inſtances, ſtrong prejudices againſt me. "The friends of Milton will not yield "to Shakeſpeare the ſuperiority of ge- "nius, which, I think, lies on the ſide "of Shakeſpeare. Both of them have "faults. But the faults of Shakeſpeare

"were

" were thoſe of Genius; thoſe of Milton " of the MAN OF GENIUS. The former " ariſes from *imagination* getting the " better of *judgment*; the latter from " *habit* getting the better of *imagination*. " Shakeſpeare's faults were thoſe of a " *great poet*; thoſe of Milton of a *little* " *pedant*. When Shakeſpeare is *execra-* " *ble* he is ſo exquiſitely ſo, that he is " inimitable in his blemiſhes as in his " beauties. The puns of Milton betray " a *narrowneſs of education*, and a *dege-* " *neracy of habit*."

Thus far Dr. Johnſon's exhibition of Milton in the ſcale of poetical merit, which perhaps at the bottom may amount to no more than that Milton could not *make a ſaddle, or dance upon*

the

the rope *. But this too we leave to critics on poetry, of whom we ſhould requeſt to explain the difference between a *Genius* and a *Man of Genius*, and by what operation *habit*, in the abſtract, gets the better of *imagination*; remarking only for ourſelves, that for the balance-maſter to reproach Milton for his pedantry is certainly betraying a ſtrange unconſciouſneſs of his own talents, unleſs he depends upon his reader's ſagacity in diſcriminating a *great* pedant from a *little* one. He is obliged, however, to complete the humiliation of Milton, to put his proſe-works into the ſcale.

" His theological quibbles and per-
" plexed ſpeculations are daily equalled

* See Cibber's Letter to Pope, p. 35.

" and

" and excelled by the moſt abject en-
" thuſiaſts; and if we conſider him as a
" proſe-writer, he has neither the learn-
" ing of a ſcholar, nor the manners of a
" gentleman. There is no force in his
" reaſoning, no elegance in his ſtyle, and
" no taſte in his compoſition."

Peremptory, but not deciſive! To make this go down, even with a moderate tory, it ſhould have been added, that the *narrowneſs* of Milton's education prevented, not only his proficiency in the ſtudy of the abſtruſer ſciences, but even in the elemental acquiſitions of reading or ſpelling.

" We are therefore," continues the critic, " to conſider him in one fixed
" point of light, that of a great poet,

" with a laudable envy of rivalling, " eclipſing, and excelling, all who at- " tempted ſublimity of ſentiment and " deſcription."

Could this be a hopeful attempt in ſo wretched a writer of proſe? or does the critic propoſe to entertain his readers with a miracle, or only with a paradox? Immediately however the critic withdraws Milton from this fixed *point of light*, and places his ſublimity of ſentiment and deſcription in contraſt with Shakeſpeare's amiable variety; and concludes, " that " Shakeſpeare could have *wrote* like " Milton, but Milton could never have " *wrote* like Shakeſpeare."

Does not the Doctor here overturn his own metaphyſical ſyſtem? Shakeſpeare's

judge-

judgement, to have qualified him to write like Milton, muſt have got the better of his *imagination*; a confinement of Shakeſpeare's powers not half ſo poſſible as that Dr. Johnſon ſhould turn Whig.

" Some may think," ſays the Doctor, in this ſame poetical ſcale, " that I have " under-valued the character of Waller; " but, in my own opinion, I have rather " over-rated it."

He has however made ample amends for this lenity in writing Waller's life; and it is a very gentle cenſure paſſed upon him by the Critical Reviewers *, " that the Doctor's remarks on ſome of " our beſt poets, particularly Milton and " Waller, whoſe political opinions by no

* For May, 1779.

" means coincided with his own, may be " thought rather too fevere."

It was Waller's misfortune (a misfortune only in the ſcale of Dr. Johnſon) to be born of a mother who was ſiſter to the illuſtrious patriot John Hampden, whom the Doctor calls *the zealot of rebellion*, by the ſame figure of ſpeech which repreſents Chriſtopher Milton, as *taught by the law* to adhere to king Charles, who was breaking the law every day by a thouſand of thoſe arbitrary acts and oppreſſions which make up the deſcription of a tyrant.

It is not eaſy to determine which, in this character of Hampden, is the more conſpicuous, the zeal of the loyaliſt, or *the manners of the gentleman*. The man

talks in one place of Milton's *brutality*. We could wiſh to have his definition of the term, that we may not injure him in the *adoption* of it to his own ſtyle.

But Milton only, for the preſent, is our client, and only Milton the proſe-writer, who, in that character, muſt ever be an eye-ſore to men of Dr. Johnſon's principles; principles that are at enmity with every patron of public liberty, and every pleader for the legal rights of Engliſhmen, which, in their origin, are neither more nor leſs than the natural rights of all mankind.

Milton, in contending for theſe againſt the tyrant of the day and his abettors, was ſerious, energetic, and irrefragable. He bore down all the ſilly ſophiſms in

favour of deſpotic power like a torrent, and left his adverſaries nothing to reply, but the rhetoric of Billingſgate, from which Lauder, in the end of his pamphlet, intituled, "King Charles I. vindi-" cated, &c." has collected a noſegay of the choiceſt flowers; and pity it was, that he was too early to add his friend Johnſon's character of Milton the proſe-writer to the ſavoury bouquet.

When the Doctor found, on ſome late occaſions, that his crude abuſe and malicious criticiſms would not bring down Milton to the degree of contempt with the public which he had aſſigned him in the ſcale of proſe-writers; he fell upon an expedient which has ſometimes ſuc-

ceeded in particular exigences. In one word, he determined to write his Life.

There are no men ſo excellent who have not ſome perſonal or caſual defect in their bodily frame, ſome aukward peculiarity in their manners or converſation, ſome ſcandalous calumny tacked to their private hiſtory, or ſome of thoſe natural failings which diſtinguiſh human from angelic beings.

On the other hand, few men are ſo totally abandoned and depraved as to have no remnants of grace and goodneſs, no intervals of ſobriety, no touches of regret for departed innocence, no ſenſe of thoſe generous paſſions which animate the wiſe and good to praiſe-worthy actions, or no natural or acquired abilities to abate

the reſentment of the reputable public, and to atone, in ſome degree, for their immoralities.

A man of genius, who has words and will to depreſs or raiſe ſuch characters reſpectively, will conſider little in his operations upon them, but the motives and occaſions which call for his preſent interference; and the world who know the artificer will make it no wonder that the encomiaſt and apologiſt of the profligate Richard Savage ſhould employ his pen to ſatyrize and calumniate the virtuous John Milton.

" The Life of Milton," ſays Dr. Johnſon, " has been already written in ſo " many forms, with ſuch minute enqui- " ry, that I might perhaps more pro- " perly

" perly have contented myſelf with the " addition of a few notes to Mr. Fen- " ton's elegant Abridgement; but that a " new narrative was thought neceſſary to " the uniformity of this edition *."

The uniformity of editions is commonly the bookſeller's care, and the neceſſity of ſuch uniformity generally ariſes from the taſte of the public; of which, among the number of names exhibited in the title-pages of theſe volumes, there muſt be many competent judges. It would be a pity however that a conformity to this taſte ſhould engage Dr. Johnſon in writing this Life, to go beyond what would *more properly* have contented himſelf; the leaſt intimation from the

* Life of Milton, p. 1.

Bio-

Biographer of the *impropriety* of a *new narrative* would, we are perſuaded, have made the undertakers of the edition contented with the Doctor's plan.

He might not indeed have found the means to introduce certain particulars, which embelliſh his *new narrative*, into his notes on Mr. Fenton's abridgement, in which there is a vein of candor that does the writer more honour than the ingenuity of his performance; not to mention the different judgment, from that of Dr. Johnſon, formed by Mr. Fenton, on ſome of Milton's poetical pieces.

We therefore believe this *new narrative* was calculated rather for Dr. Johnſon's private *contentment* than the neceſſities of the edition.

A few

A few inſtances will ſerve to ſhew the probability of this ſurmiſe.

All the writers of Milton's Life before Dr. Johnſon ſpeak of the eſteem with which Milton was honoured by his fellow-members of Chriſt's College at Cambridge. Milton values himſelf upon it at a time when the under-workers of the royaliſts, who ſent different accounts to the defenders of Salmaſius abroad, might have effectually confuted him. Let us now obſerve the contraſt.

" Of the exerciſes which the rules of " the univerſity required, ſome were " publiſhed by him in his maturer " years. They had been undoubtedly " applauded, for they were ſuch as few " can perform; yet there is reaſon to " ſuſ-

" ſuſpect, that he was regarded in his " college with no great fondneſs. That " he obtained no fellowſhip is certain; " but the unkindneſs with which he was " treated was not merely negative. I am " aſhamed to relate what I fear is true; " that Milton was the laſt ſtudent in " either univerſity that ſuffered the pub- " lic indignity of corporal correction *."

This ſilly tale is taken from Warton's " Life and Remains of Dean Bathurſt," and retailed by Warton from ſome manuſcripts of Aubrey the antiquarian in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, whoſe anile credulity has diſabled him from being a writer of any authority. In what manner, and with what circumſtances, this corporal

* Milton's Life, p. 7. 8.

cor-

correction was inflicted in either univerſity, we are not informed. Warton's words are, that "Milton was *actually* "whipped by Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, "Maſter of Chriſt's College, while he "was at Cambridge." Dr. Johnſon calls it a *public indignity*, which is an *improvement* upon Aubrey, and renders the fact ſtill more improbable. There is no ſpecification of the offence, or of the time of the correction; and we may preſume, that when this wholeſome ſeverity was moſt in vogue in either univerſity, the head of a college would hardly make himſelf ſo ridiculous as to condeſcend to execute the office of a pariſh-beadle *.

There

* We have been informed, that the manner of

There is another preſumption againſt this anecdote. Warton obſerves, that Wood, who, according to him, compiled his account of Milton from Aubrey's manuſcript, has omitted ſome circumſtances, particularly this of his flagellation. Aubrey pretends he had his information from Milton's own mouth; or from his relations after his death; at leaſt ſo he told Wood, who could not be ſuppoſed to omit this circumſtance from any good-will he bore to Milton's memory. We may then reaſonably ſuſpect that Wood did not believe it, and that he was convinced Aubrey was miſinformed; and ſuppoſe the ſtory ſhould be one

of whipping young unlucky academics was, to hoiſt them upon the college buttery hatch, where the diſcipline was inflicted by the butler.

of

of thoſe which Aubrey had from Milton's own mouth, Milton would hardly give him an account of the puniſhment, without ſignifying what was the fault.

Dr. Johnſon ſays, "Milton was the "laſt ſtudent in *either univerſity* that ſuf- "fered this corporal correction." Now Mr. Warton tells us, that "the whip was "an inſtrument of academical correc- "tion, not entirely laid aſide in the old "age of Dr. Bathurſt*; but Bathurſt ſurvived Milton thirty years, and the time of Milton's admiſſion above eighty. If Milton therefore was the laſt ſufferer by this illiberal puniſhment in Cambridge, that univerſity got the ſtart of

* Life of Bathurſt, p. 202.

Oxford

Oxford * in *civiliſation* by at leaſt fifty or ſixty years; which is more honour, we believe, than Dr. Johnſon deſired Mr. Warton ſhould confer upon it.

Mr. Warton ſays, "This" [meaning the whipping-bout] "explains more "fully a paſſage in one of Milton's "elegies:

"Nec

* "In the public ſtatutes of Oxford, the in-"junction of inflicting corporal puniſhment on "boys under ſixteen remains unrepealed, and "in force at this day; but the execution of this "law, ſo repugnant to every liberal and decent "idea, has been long aboliſhed. Yet this code "of ſtatutes was compiled no longer ago than "the year 1635. It was, however, no uncom-"mon practice at a college in Oxford, where the "foundation-ſcholars are elected very young, "actually to puniſh with the rod as far down as "the beginning of the preſent century."

Gent. Mag. 1779, p. 493.

" Nec duri libet uſque minas perferre
" magiſtri,
" Cæteraque ingenio non ſubeunda
" meo."

Where, in Mr. Warton's ideas, *cætera* ſignifies flogging. But Dr. Johnſon having noted that it ſignifies ſomething elſe beſides threats, interprets it into ſomething more, *i. e.* more ſevere, namely, puniſhment. But he ſeems to be in doubt whether that puniſhment was whipping or baniſhment; and with reaſon, for *cætera* may ſignify ſomething more, *i. e.* ſomething *over* and *beſides* threats, and yet ſomething *elſe* beſides either whipping or ruſtication. The moſt natural interpretation of the ſecond line ſeems to be, that thoſe college-exerciſes

known by the name of *impoſitions* (oftentimes preſcribed as puniſhments) did not ſuit Milton's genius, being indeed even within our memory calculated rather for the drudgery of an induſtrious plodder than ſuited to the genius of a youth of parts and ſpirit. Wonderful muſt be that *genius* which has a taſte for being flogged or baniſhed!

"It ſeems plain," ſays the *new narrative*, "from his own verſes to Diodati, "that he had incurred *ruſtication*, a tem-"porary diſmiſſion into the country, with "perhaps the loſs of a term."

Milton was admitted of Chriſt's College, February 12, 1624 5. He took his bachelor's degree in 1628, ſo that without a *perhaps* he loſt no term. In every

every college there is or ſhould be a regiſter, in which are entered all orders for expulſion and ruſtication of delinquents. This is neceſſary for the juſtification of the maſter and fellows againſt whom appeals and complaints are often lodged by the ſufferers, either before the viſitor or in Weſtminſter-Hall. We have been informed, from the beſt authority, that there is an entry in the regiſter of this very college, importing, that a candidate for a fellowſhip *, being rejected by the ſociety, was, upon calling in the viſitor †, eſtabliſhed in his right, not without ſome ſevere expreſſions inſerted

* The late Dr. Hutton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

† Biſhop Sherlock, then Vice-chancellor.

in the ſentence, which the viſitor, upon application, refuſed to expunge.

If therefore the Regiſters of Chriſt's College are ſilent with reſpect to the expulſion of John Milton, it is *not plain* that he was either expelled or ruſticated, not to mention that the terms, *vetiti laris et exilium*, may refer to twenty cauſes beſides that aſſigned by the new Biographer. If Milton's return to college was voluntary, it would be invidious to aſcribe his abſence to compulſion, unleſs you will ſuppoſe that the prohibition was the effect of his father's œconomy, which is by far moſt likely to have been the caſe.

Milton however was certainly out of humour with the univerſities (except per-

perhaps with a few of his ingenious and judicious friends in them); and Dr. Johnſon gives us our choice of two cauſes of it, *the injudicious ſeverity of his governors, and Milton's captious perverſeneſs* *.

Had Milton left us nothing upon the ſubject but rude and indiſcriminate abuſe of the univerſities, Dr. Johnſon's alternative in aſſiſting us to account for it had been liberal and gracious. But the ſingle letter of Milton to Hartlib ſhews that his objections were of another ſort, and took their riſe neither from any reſentment againſt his governors for their ſeverity, nor from any perverſeneſs of his own temper. So far from blaming their ſeverity, he reproves the *idle vacancies*

* Life, p. 10.

given both to ſchools and univerſities, as a detrimental and improper indulgence; with reſpect to his own diſpoſition, nothing appears here but a deſire to meliorate the mode of education, in which Hartlib was as hearty as himſelf; and it appears by our late academical reformations, that the authors of them were no more in humour with the methods of their predeceſſors than Milton himſelf.

It is true, Milton was zealous for Reformation in the church, and who can ſay it was not wanted? or who but Dr. Johnſon *will* ſay it? Milton laid the errors and abuſes in the church to the account of the biſhops. The biſhops countenanced and encouraged the univerſities; and it was but natural for the univerſi-

ties

ties in their turn to inculcate that ſort of learning which tended to uphold the epiſcopal authority, and conſequently to prevent the reformation Milton wiſhed for.

" One of his objections," ſays the Doctor, " to academical education, as it was " then conducted, is, that men deſigned " for orders in the church were per- " mitted to act plays, *writhing and un-* " *boning their clergy limbs to all the antic* " *and diſhoneſt geſtures of* Trinculoes, " *buffoons, and bawds, proſtituting the* " *ſhame of that miniſtry, which either they* " *had or were nigh having, to the eyes of* " *courtiers and court-ladies, with their* " *grooms and madamoiſelles* *."

* Apology for Smectymnus, p. 110. Birch's ed.

Num fingit, num mentitur! If *Ignoramus* was well acted at Trinity College, theſe ludicrous appearances muſt be exhibited to the ſpectators, who were perſons exactly anſwering the deſcription here given of them; and if the characters were perſonated by clergymen, or candidates for orders, there is propriety as well as truth in Milton's reflection. But this is not the objection.

"This is ſufficiently peeviſh," ſays the Doctor, "in a man, who, when he "mentions his exile from the college, "relates, with great luxuriance, the "compenſation which the pleaſures of "the theatre afford him. Plays were "therefore only criminal when they were "acted by academicks *."

* Life, p. 12.

The

The Doctor undoubtedly depended, that he had ſufficiently diſguſted his readers with his account of Milton's proſe-writings, to prevent their looking for the context to his quotation, to which there is no reference, or mention of the tract from whence it is taken.

Perhaps indeed ſome of the more moderate idolizers of Dr. Johnſon might perceive, even from this mutilated citation, that Milton did not blame theſe actors as they were *academics*, but as they were *clergymen*. But Milton had likewiſe another objection to them; they were ſcurvy performers.

" There," ſays Milton, " while they " acted and over-acted, among other " young ſcholars, I was a ſpectator; they " thought

" thought themſelves gallant men, and I " thought them fools; they made ſport, " and I laughed; they miſ-pronounced, " and I miſliked; and, to make up the " atticiſm, they were out, and I hiſs'd *."

Theſe were not the faults of men of the theatrical profeſſion, who were daily practitioners upon the ſtage, and by whom Milton was ſo highly entertained in the Metropolis.

Milton's epiſcopalian opponents reproached him as a diſſolute rake; and, among other irregularities, mentioned his frequenting the theatres, which they inferred from his ſpeaking of vizzards and falſe beards. He anſwers, that there was no occaſion to go to the public playhouſes to learn the uſes of theſe diſguiſes;

* Apology, p. 213.

for-

oraſmuch as plays were acted in the universities, with the approbation of biſhops, where theſe characteriſtical properties were to be ſeen as well as at the public heatres. "And," he concludes, "if it "be unlawful to ſit and behold a mercenary comedian perſonating *that which "is leaſt unſeemly for an hireling to do*, how "much more blameful is it to endure "the ſight of as vile things acted by perſons, either entered, or preſently to "enter, into the miniſtry! and how "much more foul and ignominious for "them to be the actors *!"

Is then Dr. Johnſon's THEREFORE the introduction of a fair inference? or do ſlander and miſrepreſentation then only

* Apology, p. 213.

loſe

loſe their malignity when delivered by the pen of Dr. Johnſon?

Every page of the *new narrative* is full of mean flings and malevolent ſurmiſes on Milton's moſt indifferent actions, which it would be endleſs to remark with a proper reproof of each. We ſhall therefore only ſelect a few of the moſt reprehenſible, either on account of their want of candour, or want of veracity.

Page 24. It is thus written: "Let not "our veneration for Milton forbid us to "look with ſome degree of merriment "on great promiſes and ſmall perfor- "mances, on the man who haſtens home "becauſe his countrymen are contend- "ing for their liberty, and when he "reaches the ſcene of action vapours "away

" away his patriotiſm in a private board-
" ing ſchool."

This ſneer is derived from a reflection of Mr. Fenton, " to whom it ſeemed " wonderful that one, of ſo warm and " daring a ſpirit as Milton's certainly " was, ſhould be reſtrained from the " camp in thoſe unnatural commotions* ; " and whence Dr. Johnſon takes the li- " berty to ſubſume : But Milton was re- " ſtrained from the camp, therefore his " patriotiſm was vapoured away."

But was there no ſcene of patriotic action but in the camp? or will Dr. Johnſon allow that Milton could have done more for the liberty of his coun-

* Fenton's Life of Milton, p. x.

trymen

trymen with his ſword than he did with his pen * ?

Philips informs us, that Milton arrived in England from his travels "about "the time of the King's making his ſe-"cond expedition againſt the Scots † ;"

* Neque enim militiæ labores et pericula ſic defugi, ut non alia ratione, et operam multo utiliorem, nec minore cum periculo, meis civibus navârim, et animum dubiis in rebus neque demiſſum unquam, neque ullius invidiæ, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præſtiterim. Nam cum ab adoleſcentulo humanioribus eſſem ſtudiis, ut qui maxime deditus, et ingenio ſemper quam corpore validior, poſthabita caſtrenſi opera, qua me gregarius quilibet robuſtior facile ſuperâſſet, ad ea me contuli quibus plus potui, ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, ſi ſaperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, cauſamque hanc præſtantiſſimam, quantum maxime poſſem momentum accederem.

Miltoni Defenſio ſecunda pro Populo Anglicano, p. 366. vol. II. of Baron's edition of his proſe-works.

† Philips, p. xvi.

and

and ſo ſay Toland, Newton, &c; and it was in the very ſame year that Milton publiſhed his Diſcourſes of Reformation in two books, founded on the ſame principles of liberty for which his countrymen were contending in the camp.

The ſame Mr. Philips ſays, that within the firſt two years that Milton inhabited the houſe which the *new narrative* dignifies with the name of *boarding-ſchool**, he ſet out not only the tract above-mentioned, but likewiſe the ſeveral treatiſes againſt Prelatical Epiſcopacy, on the Reaſon of Church-Govern-

* The expreſſion was familiar to this writer: "At Edial, near Litchfield, in Staffordſhire, "young gentlemen are *boarded*, and taught the "Latin and Greek Languages, by SAMUEL "JOHNSON."

Advertiſement in Gent. Mag. 1736, p. 428.

ment,

ment, Defence of Smectymnus, and others.

Dr. Johnſon will hardly deny that theſe patriotic pieces *vapoured* beyond the environs of Milton's boarding-ſchool, even perhaps to the warmeſt *ſcene of action*, the Commons' Houſe of Parliament: nor can we think he will (except in a fit of merriment) call them ſmall performances, with reſpect to their effects; as he himſelf muſt know by experience the ſervice that political pamphlets do to the faction their authors adhere to, when ſeaſonably publiſhed. The merit of the faction, or of the author, is out of the queſtion. We believe it will not be diſputed, that Milton was as valuable a writer to the party he eſpouſed,

eſpouſed, as Dr. Johnſon is to the preſent adminiſtration, though not (at the time referred to) *bought with a price.*

The Doctor ſays, "This is a part of "his life from which all his biographers "ſeem inclined to ſhrink. They are un- "willing that Milton ſhould be degrad- "ed to a ſchool-maſter; but ſince it can- "not be denied that he taught boys, one "finds out that he taught for nothing; "and another, that his motive was only "zeal for the propagation of learning; "and all tell what they do not know to "be true, only to excuſe an act which no "wiſe man will conſider as in itſelf diſ- "graceful. His father was alive, his "allowance was not ample, and he ſup-

" plied its deficiences by an honeſt and " uſeful employment."

This is ſaid with more confidence than the Doctor's careleſſneſs in conſulting Milton's Biographers will juſtify. Philips is not *one* and *another*; and he is the only original from whom thoſe who have apologiſed for Milton's employment in teaching youth have copied.

Whether Toland knew the particulars of Milton's motives, muſt be left to GOD and his own conſcience; but to ſay that " Milton had no ſordid or mercenary " purpoſes" will not imply that he *taught for nothing*.

Milton's friends are obliged to Dr. Johnſon for doing credit to his ſuppoſed occupation of a ſchoolmaſter; but To-

land had done it before him, whoſe remarks would hardly have been ſeconded in the *new narrative*, if the author had not had ſome fellow-feeling of the reproach of Milton's adverſaries; a circumſtance that gave us ſome eſpecial wonder that the Doctor ſhould be ſo much *aſhamed* of the whipping ſtory retailed from Aubrey.

Concerning this part of Milton's Life, Mr. John Philips muſt, out of all compariſon, be the moſt authentic hiſtorian: He was Milton's pupil from the beginning; and they who attend to the ſeries of facts in his account will perceive how much Dr. Johnſon's ſpeculations on *vagrant inattention, ſluggiſh indifference*, and *abſurd miſapprehenſion*, introduced by way

of confuting thoſe facts, might have been ſpared.

"We are told," ſays the *new narrative*, "that in the art of education he per-"formed wonders; and a formidable liſt "is given of the authors Greek and "Latin that were read in Alderſgate-"ſtreet by *youth* between ten and fifteen "or ſixteen years of age." And then follows the wiſe obſervation, that "no-"body can be taught faſter than he can "learn *."

But who were theſe *youth?* Even his ſiſter's two ſons, (perhaps only one of them, the younger); as appears by what Philips ſays after he had ſpecified the *formidable liſt*.

* New Narrative, p. 27.

"Now

" Now perſons," ſays he, " ſo far ma-
" nuducted into the higheſt paths of lite-
" rature, both divine and human, had
" they received his documents with the
" ſame acuteneſs of wit and apprehen-
" ſion, the ſame induſtry, alacrity, and
" thirſt after knowledge, as the inſtruc-
" tor was indued with, what prodigies
" of wit and learning might they have
" proved! the ſcholars might, in ſome
" degree, have come near to the equal-
" ling the maſter, or at leaſt have in
" ſome ſort made good what he ſeems to
" predict in the cloſe of an elegy he made
" in the ſeventeenth year of his age,
" upon the death of one of his ſiſter's
" children (a daughter) who died in her

" infancy." The laſt couplet of which elegy is,

This if thou do, he will an offspring give
That to the world's laſt end ſhall make thy name to live *.

Hence it is clear that the perſons *ſo manuductted* were only, at the moſt, the two Philipſes, the offspring of Milton's ſiſter, whoſe name would be little connected with the proficiency of a promiſcuous number of boys in a boarding-ſchool.

In the next place, Mr. Philips is before-hand with Dr. Johnſon in aſſigning the cauſes of the little comparative

* Philips, p. xix.

pro-

proficiency made by the perſons ſo *manuducted*; where common good-manners would reſtrain him from taxing the hebetude, the idleneſs, the indolence, and indifference, of any ſtudents, except of himſelf or his brother. And indeed it plainly appears, that the "addition of "ſome ſcholars *" was poſterior to the courſe of reading Milton went through with his nephews, and was one of thoſe *ſeveral occaſions of increaſing his family*, apparently after he had written the tracts above-mentioned.

If Toland, and Milton's Biographers, ſubſequent to Philips, made more of this matter than Philips's hiſtory authorized, we do not commend them. But it was

* Philips, p. xxi.

ſurely the buſineſs of a *new narrative* to correct their inaccuracies, and not invidiouſly to repreſent Milton as *performing wonders*, which it is not pretended by him, who knew the beſt, that he *did* perform; and then to ſhew the impracticability of the thing by remarks borrowed from his informer, and put upon the reader as the product of his own ſagacity.

In another place the Doctor ſays *, "From this wonder-working academy I "do not know that there ever proceeded "any man very eminent for knowledge; "its only genuine product, I believe, is "a ſmall hiſtory of poetry, written in "Latin by his nephew, of which per-

* Johnſon, p. 31.

"haps none of my readers has ever "heard."

Every writer may preſume, conjecture, and believe, as much as he pleaſes in all caſes where he cannot be contradicted; and ſo may we. Our anſwers to this then are,

1. *Bernardus non vidit omnia.* There may have been men and things of which Dr. Johnſon hath no knowledge. Wood ſays, *both* Milton's nephews were writers *; and there may be ſtill more genuine products of Milton's ſcholaſtic inſtitution than Dr. Johnſon ever heard of.

2. From this reflection it may be inferred, that Milton's pupils were not ſo

* Ath. Oxon, vol. I. Faſti, p. 263.

nume-

numerous as the Doctor's hypotheſis requires they ſhould have been.

3. The ſtudents in Milton's academy (being the ſons of men of like ſpirit and principles with their maſter) would not, upon leaving his boarding-ſchool, *vapour away* their patriotiſm in writing books; but proceed to *ſcenes of action* not very favourable to the Muſes, or philoſophical ſpeculation.

Though ſome of Milton's pupils might, in the days of their maturity, write like angels, their performances in favour of Liberty would be execrated into obſcurity and contempt, upon the turn of the times, by the able proficients in the noble ſcience of licenſing.

The

The Doctor, ſpeaking of Milton's Areopagitica, ſays, "The danger of "ſuch unbounded liberty [of unlicenſed "printing], and the danger of bound- "ing it, have produced a problem, in "the ſcience of government, which *hu- "man underſtanding* ſeems unable to "ſolve *."

Let us then have recourſe to a *divine underſtanding* for the ſolution of it. *Let both the tares and the wheat grow toge- ther till the harveſt, leſt while ye gather up the tares, ye root up alſo the wheat with them.*

Next follows a curious ſee-ſaw of the arguments pro and con.

* New Narrative, p. 45.

"If

" If nothing may be publiſhed but
" what civil authority have previouſly
" approved, power muſt always be the
" ſtandard of truth."

Would not one think that problem was thus ſolved at once? Is not this an alternative which even Dr. Johnſon's predilection for power would hardly admit?

Hold a little, till we have ſhewn you the evils on the other ſide.

" If every dreamer of innovations may
" propagate his projects, there can be no
" ſettlement; if every murmurer at go-
" vernment may diffuſe diſcontent, there
" can be no peace; if every ſceptic in
" theology may teach his follies, there
" can be no religion."

Is it not better that power ſhould be he ſtandard of truth, than that we ſhould ave no ſettlement, no peace, no reli-ion?

But, ſays another writer, as honeſt a nan, and at leaſt as fair a reaſoner, as Dr. Johnſon, "If men were not to de-'clare their opinions in ſpight of eſtab-'liſhments either in church or ſtate, 'truth would ſoon be baniſhed the 'earth *;" and to this agrees John Mil-on. What is then to be done?

Why, ſays a moderator, puniſh the uthors of theſe wicked publications; for Dr. Johnſon tells you, "It is yet al-"lowed that *every* ſociety may puniſh, "though not prevent, the publication of

* Dedication of the *Eſſay on Spirit.*

"opinions

" opinions which that ſociety ſhall think " pernicious."

We could mention very good ſort of men, and no fools, who would not *allow* this to *every* ſociety. But be this as it may, this allowance does not ſatisfy our Biographer; for, ſays he, " This puniſh- " ment, though it may cruſh the author, " promotes the book; and it ſeems not " more reaſonable to leave the right of " printing unreſtrained, becauſe writers " may be afterwards cenſured, than it " would be to ſleep with our doors un- " bolted, becauſe by our laws we can " hang a thief." The concluſion is, hang every man who prints or publiſhes without a licenſe.

Hardy

Hardy muſt be the man who can publiſh this ſophiſtry with ſo many contradictory facts ſtaring him in the face. And liſtreſſing muſt be the dilemma which obliges Dr. Johnſon to admit either that the minority have propagated no projects of innovation, diffuſed no diſcontents by murmuring at government; or that his friends the miniſters of ſtate have not been able to protect the ſettlement, and keep the public peace. If there can be no religion upon the ſuppoſition that every ſceptic may teach his follies, I am afraid the Doctor himſelf can have no religion; for ſuch ſceptics may and do teach their follies every day with all freedom.

Perhaps

Perhaps times and ſeaſons might be noted in ſome old almanac when the good Doctor himſelf ſtole ſome trifles into the world through the preſs, which did not much favour the legal ſettlement of the crown, or tend to abate the diſcontents of the people.

Had the miniſter of the day, who then ſlept with his doors unbolted, caught the thief with the dark-lanthorn in his pocket, and conſigned him over to the conſtable, the culprit undoubtedly would have availed himſelf of Milton's plea, and we ſhould have heard with a vengeance of the wicked enmity of power to the cauſe of truth and loyalty. But penſions and preferments are wonderful enlighteners; and the free circulation

lation of ſedition during the laſt reign, when many an honeſt Jacobite propagated his diſcontents without the leaſt apprehenſion for his ears, is now become a pernicious policy, unworthy of the wiſdom and dignity of an adminiſtration under the protection of the reſpectable Dr. Samuel Johnſon.

It is obſervable, that Milton addreſſed his noble tract, intituled, Areopagitica, to an antimonarchical parliament, from which he expected the reformation of all the errors and encroachments of the late kingly and prelatical government. He was above the little dirty prejudices or pretences that they might be truſted with power, only becauſe he approved of the men, or depended upon their fa-

vour to himſelf. He had his eye only on the cauſe, and when the Presbyterians deſerted that, he deſerted them, not out of humour, as this rancorous Biographer would inſinuate *; but becauſe they fainted in the progreſs of that work to the completion of which their firſt avowed principles would have led them.

Would Dr. Johnſon have choſen to have ſubmitted his works to the licenſers appointed by ſuch a parliament? or would he venture to expoſtulate with the pow-

* See ſome ſenſible and maſterly reflections on the ſubject in Dr. Moore's *View of Society and Manners in* France, Switzerland, *and* Germany. See likewiſe Gilbert Mabbot's reaſons for deſiring to be diſmiſſed from the office of Licenſer. Toland's Life of Milton, Mr. Hollis's edition, p. 57.

ers

ers in being on any point of literary privilege, wherein he ſhould think them eſſentially wrong, with that generous and honeſt freedom that Milton exhibits in this incomparable tract? No, he ſneaks away from the queſtion, and leaves it as he found it.

"As faction ſeldom leaves a man ho-"neſt," ſays the Doctor, p. 51, "how-"ever it might find him, Milton is ſuſ-"pected of having interpolated the book "called Icon Baſilike, which the council of "ſtate, to whom he was now made Latin "Secretary, employed him to cenſure, "by inſerting a prayer, &c."

The contexture of this ſentence ſeems to be a little embaraſſed: and to leave us under ſome uncertainty whether Milton

" interpolated by inſerting," or whether he was " employed to cenſure by inſert- " ing, &c."

Milton, however, it ſeems, was " ſuſ- " pected of inſerting, in the Icon Baſi- " like, a prayer taken from Sidney's " Arcadia, and imputing it to the King, " whom he charges, in his Iconoclaſtes, " with the uſe of this prayer, as with a " heavy crime, in the indecent language " with which proſperity had embolden- " ed the advocates for rebellion to inſult " all that is venerable and great."

Does the Doctor mean to ſay, that theſe *advocates for rebellion* inſulted the venerable and great Creator of all things, or that there was nothing venerable and great but King Charles I. and his appur-

tenances?

tenances? The imputation of blaſphemy on the one ſide or the other is unavoidable.

After which follows the citation from the Iconoclaſtes, where the imputation and the grounds of it are fairly and openly told. Now for the proof of the interpolation.

"The papers which the King gave to "Dr. Juxon, on the ſcaffold, the regicides "took away, ſo that they were at leaſt "the publiſhers of this prayer."

Let us parallel this with an inference from another ſcrap of Engliſh hiſtory.

"The miniſtry took away Mr. Wilkes's "papers, among which was ſaid to be "the Eſſay on Woman; ſo that the mi-"niſters were at leaſt the publiſhers of

" that Eſſay; and, conſidering the num-
" bers of poets they have always at their
" beck, why may they not be ſuſpected
" as the forgers of it?"

So reaſoned Mr. Wilkes's friends in the year 1763. Dr. Johnſon knows what the miniſterial writers replied; and let that ſuffice for an anſwer to this preſumptive proof of Milton's diſhoneſty. But,

" Dr. Birch, who examined the queſ-
" tion with great care, was inclined to
" think them [the Regicides] the forg-
" ers."

Dr. Birch's examination, careful as the Doctor repreſents it, was blameably partial in not giving Toland's confutation of Dr. Gill's tale its full ſtrength; and indeed the examination ſeems to have

been

been unſatisfactory to Birch himſelf, by its being left out of his Life of Milton, prefixed to the quarto edition of Milton's proſe-works.

Lauder however affirms, that, "in Dr. "Birch's opinion, Milton was not guilty "of the crime charged upon him; Mil- "ton and Bradſhaw too, in the Doctor's "opinion, being perſons of more honour "than to be guilty of putting ſo vile a "trick upon the King *."

Lauder perhaps had this declaration from Dr. Birch's own mouth; it is confirmed however by the following reflection, in the quarto edition of Milton's Life by Birch, p. xxxiii.

* Lauder's Vindication, p. 37.

" It is highly improbable that Milton " and Bradshaw should make Hills * their " confident unnecessarily in such an affair; " and laugh in his presence at their im- " posing such a cheat upon the world; " or that he should conceal it during the " life of the former, who survived the

* It is objected, to the testimony of Hills, that he turned papist in the reign of James II. and we find him characterized by Dunton, *Popish Hills stationer to James* II. He made an atonement, however, after the Revolution, by printing several single sermons of the most eminent preachers of that time, many of them against Popery, on vile paper and print, for pence a piece, to the great comfort and convenience of minute divines in country churches. Dr. Taylor late Chancellor of Lincoln, in the poetical part of his music-speech, delivered at the public commencement at Cambridge, in 1730, has the following couplet:

Then moulds his scanty Latin and less Greek,
And *Harry Hills* his parish once a week.

" Resto-

"Reſtoration ſo many years. So that "ſuch a teſtimony from ſuch a perſon "is not to be admitted againſt a man "who, as his learned and ingenious edi-"tor [Bp. Newton] obſerves, had a ſoul "above being guilty of ſo mean an "action."

But let us examine this tale on another ſide:

Wagſtaffe * affirms, on the authority of the writer of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, &c.

* We are uncertain what became of Mr. Wagſtaffe, who publiſhed the Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. the third edition of which appeared in 1711. We have been informed, that he attached himſelf to the old pretender, in quality of chaplain to his proteſtant nonjuring adherents. We ſuppoſe it was his ſon who officiated in that capacity at the Santi Apoſtoli, and died at Rome about 1774 or 1775. This

&c. that "the Regicides immediately "seized Dr. Juxon, imprisoned him, "and examined him with all possible

latter had so warm a zeal for orthodoxy, and against schismatics, that he refused, though much intreated, to read the burial-service over the corpse of a Danish gentleman, a protestant, who died at Rome about the year 1762 or 63, and left that office to be performed by a worthy clergyman, chaplain to an English nobleman then at Rome, from whom we had this account. It is customary, when any English Protestant dies at Rome, for any of his acquaintance, though a layman, of the same religion, to read the burial-service over his corpse. When Wagstaffe himself died, he was carried to the unhallowed cœmetery of heretics, where it was expected by the British attendants that the service would be read over the deceased by his fellow loyalist Mr. Murray, his compatriot, and of the same church. The worthy old gentleman (for worthy he is known to be), for some reason or other, declined the office, saying to the grave-digger, *Cover him up, Cover him up.* This Mr. Wagstaffe is said to have been a man of letters, and to have left behind him a collection of curious and valuable books.

"rigour,

" rigour, and ſearched him narrowly for " all papers that he might have from " the King, even to ſcraps and par- " cels *."

All this is manifeſt forgery. Bp. Juxon was neither ſeized nor impriſoned, nor ſearched for any papers; nor were any papers required of him but one; of which we have the following account in Fuller's Church Hiſtory:

" His Majeſty being upon the ſcaffold, " held in his hand a ſmall piece of pa- " per, ſome four inches ſquare, contain- " ing heads whereon in his ſpeech he in- " tended to dilate; and a tall ſoldier, look- " ing over the King's ſhoulders, read it, " as the King held it in his hand. — His

* Birch, folio, p. lxxxii.

" ſpeech

" ſpeech ended, he gave that ſmall pa-
" per to the Bp. of London. After his
" death, the officers demanded the paper
" of the Biſhop, who, becauſe of the
" depth of his pocket, ſmallneſs of the
" paper, and the mixture of others
" therewith, could not ſo ſoon produce
" it as was required. At laſt he brought
" it forth; but therewith the others were
" unſatisfied [jealouſy is quick of growth],
" as not the ſame which his Majeſty de-
" livered unto him. When preſently
" the ſoldier, whoſe rudeneſs" [the bad
cauſe of a good effect] " had formerly
" over-inſpected it in the King's hand,
" atteſted this the very ſame paper, and
" prevented farther ſuſpicions, which
" might

might have terminated to the Biſhop's trouble *."

The Biſhop then was no farther troubled than by the officer's demanding this ingle paper. All the reſt he carried off n the depth of his pocket. If any thing nore troubleſome had happened to the Biſhop upon the occaſion, Fuller would certainly have known it, and would as certainly have recorded it; for he takes him up again in his *Worthies of England*.

Other accounts ſay, that the Biſhop afterwards retired to his own manor of Little Compton in Gloceſterſhire, where he ſometimes rode a hunting for his

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, p. penult.

health;

health; a certain sign that he had no great molestation from the ruling party *.

Milton says, the King "bequeathed "this prayer among his deifying friends "to be published by them." And published it actually was, *twice* if not *thrice*, before Milton's Iconoclastes appeared; which, according to Wagstaffe, was not till November 7, 1649. The proper inference from which premises, compared with Fuller's circumstantial and candid account, is, that all these prayers remained with Dr. Juxon till his communication of them to the King's friends occasioned their being published.

The author of Clamor Regii Sanguinis, &c. as Englished by Wagstaffe,

* Wood, Athen. Ox. vol. II. p. 1145.

ys, "The Biſhop being brought before the King's judges, was commanded by them, not without dreadful menaces, to reveal the meaning of the word *Remember*, repeated to him twice by the King upon the ſcaffold."

To this latter charge Milton replies, I will not deny that the Biſhop might be interrogated by one or other of theſe judges, by the way, concerning this matter; but I do not find that he was convened on purpoſe by the council, or the high court of juſtice, as if they all of them troubled themſelves about it, or were ſolicitous to know it *."

* Defenſio Secunda, p. 391, ed. 1753, Quarto.

From

From Milton's ſilence it might perhaps be ſuſpected, that the Biſhop was under ſome ſort of confinement, were it not that on the 7th of February we find him at full liberty, attending the King's funeral at Windſor, and ſtanding ready with a Common-prayer-book to read the burial-office over the royal corpſe *.

But what is beyond a thouſand ſurmiſes, accumulated by Wagſtaffe and others, to prove Milton's firſt publiſhing this prayer as ſelected by King Charles, for his own uſe, is the dead ſilence of Bp. Juxon from this period to the time of his death. If his timidity during the Interregnum prevailed with him to conceal the forgery, his fears muſt be at

* Biographia Britannica, Juxon, Rem. [C.]

an

an end at the Reſtoration. The prayer had been publiſhed as King Charles's over and over during that interval; Milton's reproach was equally and repeatedly made public. Yet this worthy Biſhop ſuffers this prayer to be publiſhed in a collection of King Charles's works in the year 1662, without giving the leaſt hint of the forgery, imputed afterwards to Milton and Bradſhaw.

Let Dr. Johnſon then make what he can of the *adaptation* of this prayer to the caſe of King Charles; but let not his ſplenetic prejudice againſt Milton aſſociate him with ſuch a driveling crew, ſuch a deſpicable groupe of knights of the poſt, as would perſuade the world that Milton wanted the aid of ſuch piti-

ful forgeries as they themſelves occaſionally practiſed to ſupport the nobleſt of all employments, the defence of public liberty againſt tyrants and oppreſſors.

The Doctor's account of Milton's diſpute with Salmaſius we ſhall paſs by, and leave his criticiſms on ſome Latin expreſſions on either ſide to thoſe who have not forgotten a *trade*, which, in ſome degree or other, is, or ſhould be, original to every good writer, namely, the *trade of a Grammarian*. No man has exerciſed this trade with more emolument than Dr. Johnſon, would he allow us to ſay, that in his political pamphlets "the rights of nations and kings ſink "into a laborious ſolicitude for the

"choice

" choice of words and modes of expref-
" fion."

Milton's anſwer to Salmaſius was much read, and it is no diſparagement to his arguments that they appeared bad to a man of Hobbes's principles, or paradoxical in Dr. Johnſon's ideas *.

But, however, the Doctor thought himſelf obliged to account for this depravity of taſte in the numerous readers of Milton's defenſe, which he does in this way :

" Paradox," ſays our Biographer, " re-
" commended by ſpirit and elegance,
" eaſily gains attention; and he who told
" every man that he was equal to his
" King, could hardly want an au-
" dience *."

* Life, p. 56.

The paradox then is *that every man is equal to his King*. But where has Milton told this? or is it to Dr. Johnſon's miſapprehenſion of Milton's ſtate of the caſe, or to his propenſity to calumniate, that we owe this falſe and rancorous inſinuation?

That every man is not equal, but ſuperior, to his *Tyrant*, is a propoſition which has been demonſtrated over and over, before Milton was born; and if Milton eſpouſed it, and made it better underſtood by a notorious example, he ſerved his generation in a moſt material article of their ſocial happineſs. The next generation had the ſpirit and good ſenſe to profit by his doctrine; and by virtue of it drove their Tyrant into an ignominious exile.

Milton's

Milton's attachment to Cromwell has been imputed to him as a blot in his character long before it was taken up by Dr. Johnson; who, to give him his due, has made the most of it in a small compass.

"Milton," says he, "having tasted the "honey of public employment, would "not return to hunger and philosophy; "but, continuing to exercise his office "under a manifest usurpation, betrayed "to his power that liberty which he had "defended."

It is hardly necessary to apprize a reader of Milton's prose-works that his ideas of *usurpation* and *public liberty* were very different from those of Dr Johnson. In the Doctor's system of government public liberty is the *free grace* of an *hereditary*

tary monarch, and limited in kind and degree, by his gracious will and pleasure; and consequently to controul his arbitrary acts by the interposition of good and wholesome laws is a *manifest usurpation* upon his prerogative. Milton allotted to the people a considerable and important share in political government, founded upon original stipulations for the rights and privileges of free subjects, and called the monarch who should infringe or encroach upon these, however qualified by lineal succession, a tyrant and an usurper, and freely consigned him to the vengeance of an injured people. Upon Johnson's plan, there can be no such thing as public liberty. Upon Milton's, where the laws are duly executed,

cuted, and the people protected in the peaceable and legal enjoyment of their lives, properties, and municipal rights and privileges, there can be no ſuch thing as *uſurpation*, in whoſe hands ſoever the executive power ſhould be lodged. From this doctrine Milton never ſwerved; and in that noble apoſtrophe to Cromwell, in his Second Defenſe of the people of England, he ſpares not to remind him, what a wretch and a villain he would be, ſhould he invade thoſe liberties which his valour and magnanimity had reſtored. If, after this, Milton's employers deviated from *his* idea of their duty, be it remembered, that he was neither in their ſecrets, nor an inſtrument in their arbitrary acts or encroach-

ments on the legal rights of the ſubject, many (perhaps the moſt) of which were to be juſtified by the neceſſity of the times, and the malignant attempts of thoſe who laboured to reſtore that wicked race of deſpotic rulers, the individuals of which had uniformly profeſſed an utter enmity to the claims of a free people, and had acted accordingly, in perfect conformity to Dr. Johnſon's political creed. On another hand, be it obſerved, that in thoſe State-letters, latinized by Milton, which remain, and in thoſe particularly written in the name of the Protector Oliver, the ſtricteſt attention is paid to the dignity and importance of the Britiſh nation, to the protection of trade, and the Proteſtant religion, by ſpi-

rited

rited expoſtulations with foreign powers on any infraction of former treaties, in a ſtyle of ſteady determination, of which there have been few examples in ſubſequent times. A certain ſign in what eſteem the Britiſh government was held at that period by all the other powers of Europe. And as this was the only province in which Milton acted under that government which Dr. Johnſon calls an uſurpation, let his ſervices be compared with thoſe performed by Dr. Johnſon for his preſent patrons; and let the conſtitutional ſubject of the Britiſh empire judge which of them better deſerves the appellation of a traitor to public liberty, or have more righteouſly earned the *honey* of a penſion.

The real *uſurper is the wicked ruler over a poor people*, by whatever means the *power* falls into his hands. And whenever it happens that the *imperium ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur*, the ſubject is or ſhould be too much intereſted in the fact to conſider any character of the rejected ruler but his vicious ambition, the violence and injuſtice of his counſels, and the flagitious acts by which they were executed.

Theſe petulant reflections of the Doctor on Milton, might, many of them, eaſily be anſwered by recrimination; we have often wondered, in running over this *new narrative*, that the conſciouſneſs of the hiſtorian's heart did not diſable his hand for recording ſeveral things

to

to the reproach of Milton, which rebound with double force on his own notorious conduct. Has he always believed that the government of the Houſe of Hanover was leſs an uſurpation than that of Oliver Cromwell? Having taſted the honey of a penſion for writing miniſterial pamphlets, would he feel no regret in returning once more to hunger and philoſophy?

The Doctor perhaps will tell us, that he is in no danger of ſtarving, even though his penſion ſhould be ſuſpended to-morrow. Be it ſo; and by what kind of proof will he ſhew that Milton had no means of earning his bread but his political employment?

Milton however made the experiment which happily Dr. Johnſon has not; and that too after the Reſtoration; and reſiſted the temptations of court-favour, and the ſolicitations of his wife to accept of it, with a magnanimity which would do him honour with any man but the author of the *new narrative*.

Milton's reaſon for rejecting this offer was, that "his wiſh was to live and die "an honeſt man." But, ſays the Doctor, "If he conſidered the Latin Secre- "tary as exerciſing any of the powers of "government, he that had ſhared au- "thority, either with the parliament or "Cromwell, might have forborn to talk "very loudly of his honeſty," p. 91.

The

The venom of this remark happens to be too weak to do any miſchief. Caſuiſts of all ſects and complexions have done juſtice to the honeſty of men who adhered to their principles and perſuaſions, though they might judge wrong in the choice of them.

He goes on, "And if he thought the "office miniſterial only, he certainly "might have *honeſtly* retained it under "the King." Not quite ſo *certainly*. But Milton's and Dr. Johnſon's notions of *honeſty* are ſo widely different, that we cannot admit the Doctor to eſtimate Milton's honeſty by his own ſcale. In the end, however, he queſtions the fact.

"But this tale has too little evidence "to deſerve a diſquiſition: large offers

"and

" and ſturdy rejections are among the " moſt common topicks of falſehood." That is, in plain unaffected Engliſh, " No man could ever reject a large of- " fer, though on conditions ever ſo re- " pugnant to his profeſſed principles." But the Doctor is but an individual, and his experience from his own particular caſe will not be admitted as the ſtandard of other men's integrity; and yet this is the only reaſon he gives for rejecting this anecdote, ſo honourable to Milton.

Milton's attachment to Cromwell was evidently founded on different conſiderations. The narrowneſs of the Presbyterians in their notions of Liberty, and particularly of religious liberty, had appeared upon many occaſions. He more than

than hints, in his Areopagitica, their inclination to govern by the epiſcopal and oppreſſive maxims of the Stuart race. He ſaw and abhorred their attempts to ſhackle the faith of Proteſtants and Chriſtians in the bonds of ſyſtems, confeſſions, teſts, and ſubſcriptions.

Cromwell's plan was of a more generous complexion; and Milton's Sonnet *,

* To O. Cromwell.

Cromwell, our Chief of Men, that through a cloud of war only, but diſtractions rude, [crowd,
Guided by Faith and matchleſs Fortitude)
To Peace and Truth thy glorious way haſt plow'd,
And fought God's battles, and his works purſu'd,
While Darwent ſtreams with blood of Scots im-
And Dunbar field reſound thy praiſes loud, [bru'd,
And Worceſter's laureat wreath. Yet much re-
To conquer ſtill: Peace has her victories [mains
No leſs than thoſe of War. New foes ariſe,
Threat'ning to bind our Souls in ſecular chains:
Help us to ſave free conſcience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whoſe goſpel is their maw.

addreſſed

addreſſed to him, was evidently a compliment founded on the expectation that he would lay the ground-work of a free toleration in matters of religion, without which he ſaw (what Dr. Johnſon never will ſee) that civil liberty can never be eſtabliſhed upon its proper baſis. Milton's adherence to Cromwell, therefore, was founded on the moſt liberal views; and while there was a proſpect of realizing the idea, was certainly irreprehenſible.

Dr. Johnſon however, in ſpite of every preſumption to the contrary, will have Milton's agency in political matters to have been conſidered as of great importance.

"When

" When a treaty," ſays the Doctor, " with Sweden was artfully ſuſpended, " the delay was publicly imputed to Mr. " Milton's indiſpoſition; and the Swediſh " agent was provoked to expreſs his " wonder, that only one man in Eng- " land could write Latin, and that man " blind *."

But Whitelock, who was a principal hand in negotiating this treaty, inſtead of pleading Milton's indiſpoſition for the delay, only ſays, " the employment of " Mr. Milton" [to tranſlate the treaty] " was excuſed to him" [the Swediſh ambaſſador] " becauſe ſeveral other ſervants " of the council, fit for that employ- " ment, were then abſent." Here then

* Milton's Life, p. 68.

the narrative is abſolutely *new*, both with reſpect to the importance of Milton's agency, and the reaſon given of the delay.

It is remarkable, that, in depreciating ſuch of Milton's writings as thwart Dr. Johnſon's political notions, the cenſure is always accompanied with ſome evil imputation upon the writer's head or his heart. He obſerves of his ſerious tracts in general, that *Hell grows darker at his frown*; borrowing, to make his abuſe more taſty, an expreſſion from Milton himſelf. In his treatiſes *of civil power in eccleſiaſtical caſes*, and *of the means of removing hirelings out of the church*, "He "gratified his malevolence to the cler- "gy." In writing his pamphlet called,

A ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a free commonwealth," He was *fantaſtical* enough " to think, that the nation, agitated as " it was, might be ſettled by it;" and his notes upon a ſermon of Dr. Griffiths, " were fooliſh, and the effect of *kicking* " when he could not *ſtrike*."

If controverſial fame were thus to be purchaſed, Dr. Johnſon might be eſteemed the firſt of writers in that province, for no man ever expreſſed his abuſe in a more inimitable ſtyle of abuſe. And though he may ſometimes create ſuſpicions that he has either never read, or does not underſtand the writings he ſo peremptorily cenſures; yet the vehicle is pleaſing, and the reputation he has gained by his labours of more general

utility precludes all examination, and he expects his ſcandalous chronicle ſhould be licenſed and received upon his own bare word.

" For Milton to complain of evil " tongues," ſays the Doctor, " required " impudence at leaſt equal to his other " powers; Milton, whoſe warmeſt ad- " vocates muſt allow, that he never " ſpared any aſperity of reproach, or bru- " tality of inſolence."

Milton wrote in a public conteſt for public liberty: and he generally in that conteſt was upon the *defenſive*. The aſperity of his reproaches ſeldom exceeded the aſperity of the wickedneſs upon which thoſe reproaches were beſtowed.

Brutality

Brutality is a word of an ill ſound, and required ſome inſtances to juſtify the imputation of it. When theſe are given, we will readily join iſſue in the trial, whether Milton or his adverſaries were the more brutal or more inſolent. They who would reduce mankind to a *brutal* ſlavery, under the deſpotiſm of a lawleſs tyrant, forfeit all claim to the rationality of human beings; and no tongue can be called *evil* for giving them their proper appellation.

Neither Dr. Johnſon nor we can pretend, at this diſtance of time, to aſſign the preciſe cauſes of Milton's complaint. Evil tongues are common in all times; our hiſtories inform us, that the times of Charles II. were not *good*. Milton per-

haps is not unhappy in being out of the reach of the preſent times; but whether he is, even in the preſent times, out of the reach of evil tongues, let the readers of the *new narrative* candidly judge.

Impudence is an attribute with which our Biographer hath qualified Milton more than once; and it ſeems to have ſhocked the *modeſty* of Dr. Johnſon that a blemiſh of that kind ſhould deform the character of his hero.

Parcius iſta, good Doctor! *Novimus et qui te*—But Churchill and Kenrick are no more, and the Doctor may eaſily annihilate their authority by writing *new narratives* of what they were.

There is however, it ſeems, one of Milton's proſe-tracts, in which the Doctor

tor finds *no impudence*; it is his treatiſe of *True Religion, hereſy, ſchiſm, toleration, and the beſt means to prevent the growth of popery.*

"This little tract," ſays he, "is *mo-*
"*deſtly* written, with reſpectful mention
"of the Church of England and the
"thirty-nine articles."

True, ſo far as the Church of England declares againſt Popery. But, unhappily for this *reſpect*, Milton brings theſe declarations in reproof of the church's practice; and moſt ably confutes the pretence of the Church of England, "that ſhe only enjoins things in-
"different." And even this he calls perſecution.

" If it be aſked," ſays Milton, " how " far it ſhould be tolerated? I anſwer, " doubtleſs equally, as being all Proteſ- " tants; that is, on all occaſions to give " account of their faith, either by ar- " guing, preaching in their ſeveral aſ- " ſemblies, public writing, and the free- " dom of printing."

If ſuch toleration ſhould have its free courſe, unreſtrained by canons, ſubſcriptions, and uniformity-acts, unallured by temporal emoluments, and unterrified by temporal cenſures, there muſt of courſe be an end of the civil Eſtabliſhment of the Church of England; which is here as effectually condemned, as it is in thoſe former tracts of the author's in which he is ſo ſevere on prelatical uſurpations.

ations. The only difference is, that there, n the Doctor's account, he is impudent, nd here he is modeſt.

" Fortune," ſays the Doctor, " ap-' pears not to have had much of Milton's ' care *." How is this character ſup-ported by the inſtances that follow, con-iſtently with the account above given, hat Milton, " having taſted the honey of ' public employment, *would not return* '*to hunger and philoſophy?*"

" There is yet no reaſon to believe ' that he was ever reduced to indi-' gence †;" and we will add, " nor to ' the proſpect of it;" for what the Doctor ſays, that he was " given up to

* Milton's Life, p. 137.
† Ibid. p. 136.

" poverty

"poverty and hopeleſs indignation," upon his ſoliciting the repayment of his loan to the parliament in vain, only ſerves to ſhew how dextrouſly the Doctor can fill up the chaſms of authentic hiſtory by the fertility of his imagination. And that "his wants being few, were competently ſupplied," is an argument that he could as eaſily return to his philoſophy as part with his affluence.

From this character of Milton the Doctor would ſhrink if he could, and put down the merit of it among the *topics of falſehood*; but his draw-back upon it only end in furniſes palpable inconſiſtent with that unabated conſtancy of mind in Milton, which even the *new narrative* could not diſguiſe; and obſer-

bſervation which belongs to more articles of this remarkable compoſition than this before us.

The Doctor's next debate with himſelf is concerning Milton's religion. The appearances in this part of Milton's hiſtory puzzled Mr. Peck before him, who, after decently drawing the ſaw to and again, fixes Milton in Quakeriſm.

Dr. Johnſon ſeems to think he was of no church, merely, as it ſhould ſeem, becauſe he was neither of the Church of Rome, nor of the Church of England.

If not, to what purpoſe is the following reflection?

" To be of no church is dangerous. " Religion, of which the rewards are " diſtant,

" diſtant, and which is animated only " by faith and hope, will glide by de- " grees out of the mind, unleſs it be in- " vigorated and reimpreſſed by external " ordinances, by ſtated calls to worſhip, " and the ſalutary influence of exam- " ple *."

The mere cant of every popiſh formaliſt, who ſets himſelf to ſhew that images are the books of the ignorant; and that without them the common people can have no religion.

We cannot admit even Dr. Johnſon's experience to decide this matter for us; who indeed hath immediately deſtroyed his own hypotheſis, by acknowledging that Milton, who aſſociated with no par-

* Life, p. 140.

ticular

cular church, " appears to have had full conviction of the truth of Chriſtianity; to have regarded the holy ſcriptures with the profoundeſt veneration; to have been untainted with any heretical peculiarity of opinion; and to have lived in a confirmed belief of the immediate and occaſional agency of Providence."

" And yet, he grew old without any *viſible* worſhip." Does it follow from hence, that Milton grew old without any worſhip at all?

Yes, truly, ſuch is the concluſion. 'In the diſtribution of his hours there 'was no hour of prayer, either ſolitary 'or with his houſehold; omitting pub-

" lic

" lic prayer, he omitted all." And the
he procedes to account for it.

But theſe particulars, wherever th
Doctor got them, muſt have come fron
perſons who had no more honeſt buſinef
in John Milton's cloſet than Dr. Johnſo
himſelf, who never came there, nor ca
poſſibly know what was done, or wha
was omitted in it. If " his ſtudies an
" meditations were an habitual prayer,
what occaſion had he for a ſtated hou
which, being a circumſtance in the *viſib*
worſhip of a private man, may as ſoo
be a token of phariſaical oſtentation c
popiſh ſuperſtition as of cordial piety !

Nor perhaps would Milton have ac
cepted of Dr. Johnſon's apology for hi
omiſſion of family worſhip, or have ac
knowledge

nowledged it to be a fault. Milton erhaps might think it ſufficient to teach is family to pray for themſelves; *every ne as he or ſhe ſhould know the plague of is or her own heart.* Milton had doubt-eſs known, by experience, how incon-ruous it was to truſt his own prayers to he mouth of another man; and he night think it equally improper in him o dictate to the individuals of his family rayers unſuitable, for aught he could now without auricular confeſſion, to heir ſeveral caſes.

All this however is mere ſpeculation n one ſide and the other. We learn rom a tale of Richardſon's, that one of is family at leaſt attended public wor-

ſhip;

ſhip; and more of them might, for an
thing the Doctor knows to the contrary

The Doctor next attacks Milton's p
litical character.

" His political notions were thoſe
" an acrimonious and ſurly republican.

When an honeſt man has occaſion t
characteriſe his enemy, particularly i
matters of opinion, he ſhould keep
ſtrict watch over himſelf, that his pr
judices do not tranſport him to imput
tions which are either falſe, or may
retorted upon himſelf.

The world would have given Dr. Joh
ſon credit for his inveterate hatred
republican notions, without his qual
fying them with the epithets of *acrim*
nious and *ſurly*, as exhibited by Milto
who

whoſe defenders might, with equal juſtice at leaſt, call him an *acrimonious and ſurly Royaliſt.*

But was Dr. Johnſon's quarrel with Milton's notions merely that they were republican, that is to ſay, notions adverſe to kingly government? Hath he *always* revered kings as ſuch, kings *de facto*, or kings only ſo and ſo qualified?

We confeſs ourſelves to be of that claſs of men who are willing to receive inſtruction from all quarters; and the news-paper of the day being juſt brought in, we learn, from an extract in it from Dr. Johnſon's Life of Smith, that Gilbert Walmſley was a Whig with all the virulence and malevolence of his party, and

that the Doctor was of different notions, and opinions *.

But we are well informed, that Mr. Walmſley was no republican, but ſtrongly attached in principle to the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover. If for this attachment he was, in Dr. Johnſon's eſteem, a virulent and malevolent Whig, we ſhould be glad to know what preciſely are thoſe notions and opinions wherein he differed from his friend Walmſley? Perhaps at the bottom the grudge is no more than that neither Milton nor Walmſley would allow Dr. Johnſon to chuſe a King for them.

"It is not known," ſays the Doctor, "that Milton gave any better reaſon

* St. James's Chronicle, July 31, 1779.

"[for

" [for his republican notions] than that *a* " *popular government was the moſt frugal*; " *for that the trappings of a monarchy* " *would ſet up an ordinary Common-* " *wealth* *."

In the Εικων Βασιλικη King Charles ſays, or is made to ſay, " that Kings " are the greateſt patrons of law, juſtice, " order, and religion, on earth."

To this Milton replies, " What pa- " trons they be God in ſcripture oft " enough hath expreſt; and the earth " itſelf hath too long groaned under the " burden of their injuſtice, diſorder, and " irreligion †."

A plain man would think this a better reaſon, if true, for a republican govern-

* Life, p. 143.

† Iconoclaſtes, chap. xxviii.

ment, than merely the expence of monarchy. But let the Biographer have his way.

" It is surely a very narrow policy that " supposes money to be the chief good." But it is as surely asserted by us, that no *modest* man can find any such position in all Milton's works. The political maxim, that money is *not* the chiefest good, would stand with a much fairer face in the tract intituled, " Taxation no Ty- " ranny," in order to prevail with the people to bleed freely, and submit chearfully to the pecuniary demands of the ministry; for that the expence of a court is " for the most part only a particular " kind of traffick, by which money is " circulated without any national impo- " verishment."

Critical

Tritical aphorisms should be universally and unequivocally true, unlimited by such insertions, as, *for the most part*. The expence of a court is an expression relative to a thousand articles beyond what Milton called the trappings of monarchy. Admit that a traffic, not detrimental to the nation, might be carried on with those who furnish the articles comprehended in what is called the civil list, yet are those articles all the traffic which comes within the description of the "expence of a court?" Have we not heard, some centuries ago, of trafficking with court-money and court-honey, for courtly votes, and courtly essays, to countenance and abet courtly encroachments; wherein a reciprocation of profit

is ſtipulated upon the evangelical terms of *Give, and it ſhall be given unto you?*

In the common eſtimation of the world individuals are impoveriſhed by their debts; and it would be ſtrange if national debt ſhould have no tendency to national poverty; and it would be ſtill ſtranger, if, when the account of our own debts come to be audited, no part of them ſhould appear to have been contracted by the *expence of a court*.

Dr. Johnſon is afraid that Milton's republicaniſm was founded "in an envious "hatred of greatneſs, and a ſullen deſire "of independence; in petulance, im-"patient of controul; and pride, diſ-"dainful of ſuperiority. He hated mo-"narchs in the ſtate, and prelates in the "church;

" church; for he hated all whom he was
" required to obey. It is to be ſuſpected,
" that his predominant deſire was to de-
" ſtroy, rather than to eſtabliſh, and
" that he felt not ſo much the love of
" liberty, as repugnance to authority."

Great is the witchcraft of words, and it prevaileth! How many readers will be impoſed upon by this unmanly abuſe of Milton, who will never conſider that the following character is at leaſt equally true of his calumniator!

" It is to be feared that ——'s loyalty
" was founded on an idolatrous venera-
" tion of greatneſs, and an abject fond-
" neſs for dependence; in ſycophantry,
" impatient of hunger and philoſophy,
" and in a meanneſs diſdainful of no lu-

" crative drudgery. He loved Kings " in the ſtate, becauſe he loved all who " paid him for his ſervices; and Biſhops " in the church, from a conſcioufneſs of " wanting abſolution. It is to be ſuſ- " pected, that his predominant deſire " was, to deſtroy public liberty, rather " than to eſtabliſh legal authority, and " that he felt not ſo much anxiety for " the real honour of princes, as delight " in the ſlaviſh humiliation of their ſub- " jects."

Of all the writers upon political ſubjects, Milton left the leaſt room for *fears* and *ſuſpicions*. He is open and explicit in all his reproofs of lawleſs power and oppreſſion, civil and eccleſiaſtical. Envy at greatneſs and ſuperiority in Milton's ſituation,

ſituation, would neceſſarily have implied his conſtant endeavour to attain the greatneſs and ſuperiority he envied. His addreſſes to the Parliament are undeniable teſtimonies of his readineſs to ſubmit to every ordinance of man which was not a *terror to good works*; and the only difference between Milton's ſyſtem of government and Dr. Johnſon's is, that the former ſeated the laws above the King; and the latter enthrones the monarch above the laws.

Some portions of common ſenſe however are yet left among us. Witneſs the following remark, tranſcribed from the news-paper above cited.

"With what *emphaſis* do miniſters "and men in power pronounce the words

"SER-

" SERVICE and OBEY! and how great and
" respectable do they think themselves
" when they say, THE KING MY MASTER!
" They despise the republicans, who
" only are free, and who are certainly
" more noble than they."

In conclusion, the good Doctor turns eavesdropper; and, to warn the public against the principles of the miscreant Milton, condescends to inform us of what passed in the domestic privacies of his family. " Milton's character, in his
" domestic relations, was severe and ar-
" bitrary." How does he know this? " His family consisted of women," he tells you, " and there appears, in his
" books, something like a Turkish con-
" tempt of females, as subordinate and
" in-

"inferior beings." A moſt heinous offence! enough to muſter the whole multitude of Engliſh Amazons againſt him. But the queſtion is not concerning what is in his books, but what paſſed in his kitchen and parlour. We want inſtances; and here they are: "That his "own daughters might not break the "ranks, he ſuffered them to be depreſ-"ſed by a mean and penurious educa-"tion."

The impudence of Belial would be abaſhed at ſo groſs a miſrepreſentation. Milton's daughters grew impatient of reading what they did not underſtand; this impatience "broke out more and "more into expreſſions of uneaſineſs." What had they now to expect from their

Turkiſh

Turkiſh father? what! but ſtripes and impriſonment in a dark chamber, and a daily pittance of bread and water. No ſuch matter. They were relieved from their task, and "ſent out to learn ſome "curious and ingenious ſorts of manu-"facture that were proper for women "to learn, particularly imbroideries in "gold and ſilver *." And how far this branch of education was from being either mean or penurious in thoſe days, the remains of theſe curious and ingenious works, performed by accompliſhed females of the higheſt and nobleſt extraction, teſtify to this very day.

To account for this tyranny of Milton over his females, the Doctor ſays, "He

* Philips, p. xliii.

"thought

"thought woman made only for obe-
"dience, and man only for rebel-
"lion *."

In the firſt member of this quaint antitheſis the Doctor perhaps did not gueſs far amiſs at Milton's *thought*. He ſeems to have been of St. Paul's opinion, that "women were made for obedience." But Paul and Milton had different ideas of rebellion from thoſe of Dr. Johnſon. That Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick, were *rebels* in Dr. Johnſon's ſcale, no one can doubt. And yet they had certainly an equal right to inſiſt upon the privileges of Engliſhmen againſt Dr. Laud and his aſſeſſors, as Paul had to plead thoſe of a Roman citizen againſt

* Life, p. 144.

the

the chief captain Lyſias; and even to require that the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould repair to the ſeveral priſons of theſe ſufferers to ask their pardon, and to conduct them in perſon and with honour out of their confinement; as was done in the caſe of Paul and Silas, by the magiſtrates of Philippi; who (however the Biographer may ſtomach the idea of ſuch a humiliation of this magnanimous prelate) ſeem to have underſtood the honour due to the laws of their country, and the rights of free citizens, ſomething better than either Abp. Laud or Dr. Johnſon.

But, after all, would Dr. Johnſon lead us to the converſe of the ſentiment he aſcribes to Milton, as a tenet of his own

wn orthodoxy? What his family-con-
exions with females may be we profeſs
ot to know; but we cannot believe
hat he is ſo far in love with petticoat-
overnment, as to ſubſcribe to the pro-
oſition, that "men are made only for
'obedience, and women only for rebel-
'lion."

But here we take our leave of his *new*
arrative; leaving his ſtrictures on Mil-
on's poetry to the examination of critics
y profeſſion; all of whom, we are per-
uaded, will not approve them merely
ecauſe they came from Dr. Johnſon.
They will obſerve that they are tainted
hroughout with the effects of an inve-
erate hatred to Milton's politics, with
which, as the Biographer of a Poet the

author

author of Paradiſe Loſt, the Critic had very little to do.

His compariſon of Shakeſpeare and Milton, in his poetical ſcale, is with reſpect to their capital performances contemptibly childiſh. Homer did not, perhaps could not, write like Ariſtophanes: what then? does that detract from the merit of Homer in his peculiar walk? "But Shakeſpeare could have wrote "[*lege* written] like Milton." Perhaps not. At leaſt it is more than Dr. Johnſon knew, or could prove, for want of inſtances whereon to found his compariſon.

There is a line indeed in which they may be compared; they both wrote ſonnets, and little detached pieces of poetry.

Few

Few of Milton's eſcape without ſome mark of Dr. Johnſon's ſcorn or execration. Might not a like-minded critic or caviller carp at ſome of Shakeſpeare's performances of this claſs with equal juſtice and equal malignity? And where does all this end? Why Shakeſpeare was the abler and more gentleman-like punſter of the two.

We ſhould perhaps be degraded into the claſs of ſuch cavillers ſhould we expreſs our diſlike of Dr. Johnſon's ſtyle; but candor itſelf muſt allow, that there are periods in it which require to be tranſlated into intelligible Engliſh, even where the ſentiment is trivial enough for the conception of an honeſt John Trot.

For example: "But the reputation "and price of the copy ſtill advanced, "till the Revolution put an end to *the "ſecreſy of love*, and *Paradiſe Loſt* broke "into open view with *ſufficient ſecurity "of kind reception* *."

Many more inſtances might be given from this *new narrative*, where the quaintneſs of the antitheſis, as here, borders upon the burleſque; and we are too often put in mind, by Dr. Johnſon's ſtyle, of what we remember a worthy Oxford tutor ſaid to his pupils of the ſtyle of *Seed's* Sermons: "*Boys will imi-"tate it*; *and boys will be ſpoiled by imi-"tating it*."

* Life, p. 119.

Let

Let Dr. Johnſon however enjoy his reputation of fine writing, and the praiſes of his admirers even to adulation, but let him and them remember and remark, that no ſublimity of ſtyle, no accuracy of expreſſion, can ennoble the meanneſs, or atone for the virulent malignity of his political reſentment againſt Milton, exhibited in this NEW NARRATIVE.

POSTSCRIPT.

A certain foreign antiquary, having occaſion to deſcribe a medal of Milton among thoſe of other learned men, gives the following character of the man and his writings:

JOANNES MILTON Anglus Londinenſis, ejus nominis patre catholico natus, anno 1608. ab cujus pietate, ac fide quam longiſſime receſſit, ſectas omnes æternæ conſequendæ ſalutis aptas putans, excepta Catholica Romana, ut aperte aſſeruit in impio ſuo *de vera religione* libro; optimis litteris doctrinaque imbutus, iis abuſus eſt plerumque deteſtabilia ſeditioſaque ſcribendo, violenterque, atque inurbane prorſus, quæ ſemel conſcripſerat adverſus meliora ſentientes defenſando; abſolutam, nulliſque divinis, vel humanis legibus circumſcriptam libertatem in votis habuiſſe paſſim deprehenditur; malus chriſtianus, malus civis, bonus tamen poeta fuit, carminibus Anglicis, Latinis et Italicis feliciter uſus; ejus

Poema,

Poema, cui titulum fecit *Il Paradiſo perduto*, quodque Thuſco noſtro ſoluto verſu tranſtulit Rollius, ingenti Eruditorum plauſu exceptum eſt, proque eo elegans numiſma cum effigie Miltoni cuſit Joannes Daffierius, habens ab oppoſito protoparentum ſeductionem, ac expulſionem, cum epigraphe:

DIRA DVLCE CANIT ALTER HOMERVS.

Nemo pejus unquam adverſus regiam poteſtatem majeſtatemque calamum acuit *.

Dr. Johnſon's motives for characteriſing Milton in his *new narrative* ſeem to have been much of a ſort with thoſe of

* Muſeum Mozzuchellianum ſeu Numiſmata virorum doctrina præſtantium—a Petro Antonio de comitibus gaetanis Brixiano Presbytero illuſtrata. 1763.

this Peter Anthony, with this difference, that the abuſe beſtowed upon the bard by the latter ſeems to have been more a matter of neceſſity.

A prieſt of the church of Rome would certainly conſider, that an elogium upon Milton's poetical merit, delivered without a ſevere cenſure of his uncatholic opinions, might expoſe him to ſome untoward ſuſpicions of his own heterodoxy among his ſuperiors.

One would indeed imagine that a Proteſtant writer of the Life of Milton the Poet, could have no ſuch temptation to deal out invectives againſt his ſpeculative opinions. And yet we have inſtances where an inbred zeal for a particular opinion, would operate with an equal virulence

lence upon a proteſtant as upon a popiſh bigot. For example, in the article of *truth*, it is juſt as credible, that Sir Chriſtopher Milton adhered to the party of Charles I. in obedience to the laws of his country, as that his brother John revolted from the piety and faith of his father.

On another hand, that Dr. Johnſon was as much ſcandalized at the *impiety* of Milton's political ſentiments, as Father Anthony was at his heretical pravity, cannot be doubted. Perhaps too the Doctor had his ſuperiors to pleaſe, as well as the prieſt; and they ought to do him the juſtice to acknowledge, that he hath done his duty in characterizing Milton, with a petulance and malignity

that would not have misbecome the ſuperſtitious bigotry of a monk in a cloyſter.

The Doctor, in ſpeculating upon Dryden's perverſion to popery, and (as one of the Reviewers of his prefaces expreſſes it) "attempting ingeniouſly to extenu-"ate it," concludes that, *Enquiries into the heart are not for man.*

No truly, not when Dryden's apoſtacy is to be *extenuated*; but when poor Milton's ſins are to be *ingeniouſly* aggravated, no Spaniſh Inquiſitor more ſharp-ſighted to diſcern the devil playing his pranks in the heart of the poor culprit, or more ready to conduct him to an *auto de fe.*

In Dryden's caſe, the preſumption is, that "a comprehenſive is likewiſe an

"elevated

" elevated ſoul, and that whoever is wiſe, " is likewiſe honeſt." But if it is *natural* to hope this, why not hope it of Milton as well as of Dryden? Where is the competent impartial judge who will admit, that Milton's ſoul was leſs comprehenſive or leſs elevated than the ſoul of Dryden?

But what occaſion for all this grimace in accounting for Dryden's tranſition from what he did or did not profeſs to the church of Rome? Dr. Johnſon ought to have been ſatisfied with Dryden's own account in his tale of the Hind and the Panther; the rather, as he there ſeems to have verified by experience Dr. Johnſon's maxim, that " he that is of no " church can have no religion." He frankly

frankly confeſſes, that having no ſteady principle of religion in his youth, or even in his maturer years, he finally ſet up his reſt in the church of Rome: and indeed if the eſſentials of religion conſiſt in the trappings of a church, he could not have made a better choice *.

Dryden was reprehenſible even to infamy for his own vices, and the licentious encouragement he gave in his writings to thoſe of others. But he wrote an antirepublican poem called *Abſalom and Achitophel*; and Dr. Johnſon, a man of high pretenſions to moral character, calls

* Bp. Burnet, ſpeaking of Dryden's converſion, ſays, "If his grace and his wit improve "both proportionably, we ſhall hardly find that "he hath gained much by the change he has "made, from having no religion to chuſe one of "the worſt." *Reply to* Mr. Varillas, p. 139.

him

im a wife and an honeſt man. Milton vas a man of the chaſteſt manners, both n his converſation and his writings. But e wrote *Iconoclaſtes*, and in the ſame Dr. ohnſon's eſteem was both a knave and fool.

The church of Rome ſubſtitutes or-hodoxy for every virtue under heaven. And loyalty among the high Royaliſts anonizes every raſcal and profligate with full and plenary abſolution. Theſe re, it is true, among the vileſt and neaneſt partialities of the deſpotic fac-ion; and Dr. Johnſon, conſcious of his nerit in other departments, ſhould bluſh, nd be humbled, to be found in the liſt of uch miſerables.

We

We have lately met with a pleaſant piece of vengeance taken of Milton by a poor fellow who had ſuffered under his laſh for conveying into the world, Morus's, or rather Du Moulin's, "*Clamor* "*Regii Sanguinis.*"

Juſt before the Reſtoration, Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. and his attendant in his exile, a man of learning, procured a handſome and valuable edition of Sylveſter Sguropulus's Hiſtory of the council of Florence, in Greek. The printer of it was Adrian Vlacq, of the Hague, who yet ſmarted from the ſtripes inflicted upon him by Milton ſome years before. Adrian now thought he had a fine opportunity of taking his amends. For this purpoſe he prevailed

vith Creyghton to characterize Milton n the preface to his book, but without aming him, left both the editor and he printer ſhould ſuffer for their temeri- y, the Reſtoration being yet in embryo. ome of his rhetoric we ſhall tran- cribe :

" Nec ſuis unquam paraſitis indiguit ' fanaticum illud genus hominum, qui ' exitiali facundia armati ſemper in pro- ' cinctu ſtant, et qua jubentur, linguas ' venales flectunt, eorum turpiſſima " crimina ut virtutes collaudant, aliorum " omnium dotes dente ſatyrico perfo- " diunt, et in Deum ipſum, *ſi ſenatus* " *perduellis mandaverit*, profanæ elo- " quentiæ arietes admovere non erubeſ- " cunt."

And

And again,

" Regicidium commendant poſteris, " ut Heroici facinoris exemplum ſingu- " lare. Everſionem eccleſiæ, extirpa- " tionem regni, regiique ſanguinis, inter " facta fortiſſima numerant."

Again, ſpeaking of the ſtyle of the writers on the ſide of the parliament, he ſays :

" Qui fructum cum ſemente conferre " vellet ſatius multo judicaret ad rudem " illam, ſed honeſtam Latinæ orationis " balbutiem (monkiſh Latin) revertere " quam ſic in Marci Tullii ac Titi Livii " viridariis expatiari, pollucibiliter men- " tiri, &c."

And

And laſtly,

" Tum de Regibus, ſi quis forte fortuna encomiaſtice ſcripſerit, ſuccenſent, frendunt, debacchantur, et in omne latus obſtreperam volvunt facundiam, ne quis Rex pro pio habeatur, quando ipſi in omnium Regum ſacroſancta capita tam impii [l. impie] detonuerunt."

The alluſion here to Milton and his works could not have been plainer, without naming him. The prefacer well knew Milton's zeal for his cauſe, and his abilities in defending it. He knew not but he might yet be diſpoſed to do himſelf and his party juſtice at his [Creyghton's] expence, and he choſe therefore, both for the poor printer's ſake and his own,

own, to make the abuſe general, tha
he might have room to ſay, that Milto
was not the man he meant, though th
two laſt citations would not apply to an
other man that then was, or ever ha
been, upon the face of the earth. Suc
was the terror that Milton's name ſtruc
into the hearts of his opponents, eve
when his party was rapidly approachin
their final diſſolution.

Th

Addition to the Poſtſcript.

—Such was the awe that MILTON's name ſtruck into the hearts of his opponents, even when his party was rapidly approaching its final diſſolution.

But to return once more to the *New Narrative*. To defend injured characters is ſeaſonable at all times. Some former accounts of Milton, Dr. Johnſon treats with contradiction and contempt, where neither the information, nor the good faith of the writers, are more to be ſuſpected than his own.

A large majority of authors are too inconſiderable to have their lives and adventures recorded for the inſtruction or

amuſement of poſterity, even in the ſummary of a biographical dictionary. Dr. Johnſon is not one of theſe inſignificants. The public, when he hath ceaſed to act his part on this earthly ſtage, will be impatiently inquiſitive after the perſonal hiſtory of a man, who hath figured ſo variouſly in the wide range of authorſhip; and when his panegyriſts have exhauſted every topic of praiſe and adulation to grace his monument, among thoſe of the worthies of antient days, *Somebody* may take a fancy to gratify the public with a *new narrative* of his progreſs and employments in life.

That SOMEBODY may be a true conſtitutional friend to the civil and religious

gious liberties of Engliſhmen, and diſpoſed to try what figure Dr. Johnſon's political maxims and conduct will make, in contraſt with ſuch part of Milton's hiſtory and principles as he hath attempted to diſparage by the moſt invenomed inſinuations.

A man of genius and erudition cannot more effectually diſgrace himſelf, than by hiring out his talents to thoſe vile politicians whoſe eſtimation with the public depends on ridiculing and debaſing the ſoundeſt principles of free government, and on their humiliating, and to their power ſcandaliſing the wiſe and upright men who eſpouſe them; and it is not impoſſible that, with ſuch an idea of Dr. Johnſon's merit, ſome

humorous drole, surveying the superb decorations of emblematic sculpture, surrounding the commemoration of the Doctor's vast exploits in Parian marble, may add, with a homely pencil of charcoal:

HERE LYES THE GRAND EXEMPLAR OF LITERARY PROSTITVTION.

And here we should have ended our strictures on the *new narrative*, did not the candor of a worthy friend call upon us to temper the severity (as he calls it) of this monumental inscription.

We are not deaf to the seasonable admonitions of our friends; but unwilling to deprive our hero of his blushing honours, so hardily earned, and so richly

deſerved, we rather chooſe to add a ſhort explanation, than to expunge a characteriſtic which contributes ſo much to the brilliancy of his reputation.

Proſtitution hath, generally ſpeaking, two principal motives, *filthy lucre*, and *inordinate appetite*. Theſe motives are frequently compounded, particularly when indigence, and a warmth of bodily conſtitution, happen to meet in the ſame individual.

Which of theſe motives had the predominant *ſtimulus* in the habit of the great *critic* in his connections with Lauder, or of the great *politician*, when,

FILMER before, SACHEVERELL in his rear*,

* See an Eſſay on the King's Friends, printed for Almon, 1776. p. 19.

he ſpeculated upon *virtual repreſentation*, *tyranny*, *taxation*, *&c.* in favour of a government *de facto*, which, till a certain period, he is ſaid to have held to be *de jure* an uſurpation, we ſhall not poſitively determine. This we know in common with the reſt of mankind, that ſuch ſervices have not been without conſiderable emolument; and that, on the other hand, the performance of them hath afforded to the author an opportunity of aſſwaging his itch of defaming certain friends of public liberty, with whom he could have no quarrel, but on account of their political principles and attachments.

We could add ſome remarkable inſtances from the *Life of Savage*. The em-

embelliſhment of a character ſo replete with inſolence, ingratitude, and criminal diſſipation, can hardly be aſcribed to motives of greater purity than the ſale of the copy, unleſs we ſhould take into the account the *delicacies of friendſhip*, and the congenial talents of the man and his orator.

Savage was a poet, and in his biographer's opinion, a poet above mediocrity, and not inferior in the poetical ſcale of Dr. Johnſon to ſome of thoſe whom he hath honoured with his *prefatory* narratives.

May we not then preſume, that the Doctor's Life of Savage will be added to thoſe elogies of eminent bards which have been received by the public with

ſo much applauſe, and read with ſo much avidity?

We would not anticipate the pleaſure of his readers in obſerving the Doctor's improvements in political wiſdom ſince the year 1744; we ſhall only give one inſtance of it, taken from pages 120, 121, 122, of the edition of Savage's Life that year, where there are ſome juſt, and indeed beautiful, contemplations, on the riſe and ſettlement of colonies, both in a poetical and political view.

Savage compoſed a poem on the ſubject, where, as the biographer informs us, he has laudably "aſſerted the natu-"ral equality of mankind, and endea-"voured to ſuppreſs that pride which "inclines

"inclines men to imagine that right is "the consequence of power."

The benevolent Dr. Price himself could not have advanced a doctrine more unsavoury to the palate of Dr. Johnson's friends, nor needs it much sagacity to shew how it appears in contrast with *the change which experience hath made in the Doctor's opinions* *. The Doctor, we presume, found his account in both his opinions, and all sides ought to be satisfied.

There is indeed one performance ascribed to the pen of the Doctor, where the prostitution is of so singular a nature, that it would be difficult to select an adequate motive for it out of the

* Life of Savage, p. 22.

...oun-

mountainous heap of conjectural cauſes of human paſſions or human caprice. We allude to the ſpeech delivered by the late unhappy Dr. William Dodd, when he was about to hear the ſentence of the law pronounced upon him, in conſequence of an indictment for forgery.

The voice of the public has given the honour of manufacturing this ſpeech to Dr. Johnſon; and the ſtile and *configuration* of the ſpeech itſelf confirm the imputation.

Dr. Dodd was a man of parts, a poet, and an orator. He can hardly be ſuppoſed to have ſuſpected that the powers of his own rhetoric would be too feeble for ſo critical an occaſion. Preſence of mind he could not want to compoſe a

peech for himſelf. His effuſions both in proſe and poetry, during the moſt trying moments of his confinement, prove that he did not. The naked unadorned feelings of his own mind on that awful occaſion (which he could hardly convey to Dr. Johnſon) would have been the moſt expreſſive of his ſincerity and ſelf-humiliation; and the moſt proper and effectual recommendation of his caſe to the commiſeration of his audience, and the merciful interpoſition of his judges.

An ambition to go out of the world with the applauſe of having made a florid ſpeech, we cannot, with any degree of charity, impute to the unfortunate criminal. He muſt, in that caſe, have had

had vanity ſufficient to prevent him from borrowing his materials from another.

But whatever inducement Dr. Dodd might have to ſolicit Dr. Johnſon's aid on ſuch an occaſion, it is hardly poſſible to divine what could be Dr. Johnſon's motive for accepting the office. A man to expreſs the preciſe ſtate of mind of another about to be deſtined to an ignominious death for a capital crime, ſhould, or would imagine, have ſome conſciouſneſs, that he himſelf had incurred ſome guilt of the ſame kind; in which caſe his own apprehenſions would furniſh him with topics of deprecation, ſuited to the purpoſe of his obtaining mercy. But this, we truſt, was not the caſe.

Was

Was it then the vanity of ſhewing how far he was ſuperior in abilities to an eminent maſter in his own craft of artificial compoſition, that prevailed with Dr. Johnſon to lend his talent on ſo critical an occaſion? Such, one might fear, was the motive, from the early and general intelligence imparted to the public, by whom this admired piece of oratory was fabricated.

Was it, laſtly, the preſumption that a ſpeech compoſed by Dr. Johnſon, and delivered by Dr. Dodd, could not fail of intereſting all the world in favour of the priſoner, and of procuring the moſt powerful interceſſion for the unhappy criminal's life?

Authors

Authors in the pleaſing contemplation of their own powers, and in the exertion of them upon paper, may imagine ſtrange things in their cloſets concerning their efficiency when they come abroad. But here, alas! all the propriety of diction, and the beauty of colouring, were abſolutely waſted upon the good ſenſe and native integrity of the late worthy Recorder of London. He ſaw through the artifice. He ſaw no circumſtance from one end of the tranſaction to the other to make it probable that *no fraud was intended*, nor found any weight in the *counterbalance* propoſed in the pompous ſtrains of Dr. Samuel Johnſon.

But

But there is no end of conjectures in a caſe where ſome abſurdity or other ariſes to diſgrace every account that can be ſuggeſted of the origin of a manœuvre of which no precedent can be found, except among the works of the chaplain of Newgate.

We ſhould indeed be inclined to call it a mere *jeu d'eſprit*, in the nature of an eſſay of what could be ſaid in a fictitious caſe, were it not utterly incredible that any one with the cooleſt feelings of humanity (of which we by no means ſuppoſe Dr. Johnſon to be deſtitute) could bring himſelf to ſport with the calamity of the unhappy criminal, without hope or proſpect, or intention of relief;

lief; a ſort of proſtitution for which hardly any cenſure can be too ſevere.

ADDENDUM.

Mr. Boerhadem's Letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1779, concerning Dr. Johnſon's narrative of Milton's omitting all acts of religious worſhip both in public and private, came not to our hands till it was too late to inſert, in the printed *Remarks on Dr. Johnſon's Life of Milton*, the thanks we think he well deſerves, as an able co-operator with us in the defence of Milton. The friends of Milton are particularly obliged to him, for remarking Dr. Newton's improvement upon To-

land,

land, and Dr. Johnſon's upon Newton, in their ſeveral accounts of Milton's conduct with reſpect to religious worſhip; and we think it an apt illuſtration of Toby Smollet's ſtory of the *three crows*. For our parts, we are of opinion, that Milton's ſentiments, or the practical effects of them in matters of religion, want no vindication. As to the matter in queſtion, we remember a paſſage in Robert Barclay's catechiſm, where the author, having cited ſeveral texts of Scripture, concludes, *Ex omnibus hiſce ſcripturæ locis apparet, verum Dei cultum in ſpiritu eſſe; et ſicut nec certo cuilibet loco, ita nec certo cuivis tempori limitatur.* This might be Milton's perſuaſion, as well as Bar-

clay's; but no conſiderate man would conclude from theſe words, that Barclay never prayed in private.

The worthy man to whoſe memory theſe papers are dedicated fell under many fooliſh and illiberal ſuſpicions on account of his abſenting from public worſhip. If any of our more ingenuous readers have been impoſed upon, or influenced by ſuch baſe inſinuations of purblind bigotry, we may hope they will now ſee in ſome expreſſions of Mr. Hollis's heart-felt unaffected piety, that *pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father*, does not depend upon a man's exterior connections with any viſible church, or religious ſociety, ſo

called, whatever. And this we presume to offer as a complete apology for Milton, as well as his excellent and ever memorable disciple.

The Blazoning of MILTON'S ARMS, *which are prefixed to these* REMARKS.

"THE Arms that John Milton did uſe
" and ſeal his letters with, were Argent,
" a Spread Eagle, with two heads gules,
" legg'd and beak'd ſable."

Wood, vol. I. faſt. 262.

Theſe arms are engraved in Toland's Milton, vol. I. but the creſt is not there as in Milton's ſeal.

Milton's ſeal, from which the arms were taken, was bought of Mr. John Payne, by T. H. for three guineas, 1761.

It is in ſilver, came into his poſſeſſion on the death of Foſter, who had married a grand-daughter of Milton's.

The

The dates of the original editions of MILTON's Prose Works.

1641, Of Reformation in England.
1641, Of Prelatical Episcopacy.
1641, Of Church Government.
1641, Animadversions upon the Remonstrants defence against Smectymnus.
1642, An Apology for Smectymnus.
1644, Areopagitica.
1644, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.
1644, The Doctrine, &c. of Divorce much augmented, a second edition.
1645, The same.

1644, The Judgement of Martin Bucer, concerning divorce.

1644, Of Education.

1673, Of Education, written above twenty years ſince; printed at the end of his Poems, octavo.

1645, Tetrachordon.

1645, Colaſterion.

1649, Obſervations on the articles of peace.

1649, ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

1690, The ſame, octavo, Amſterdam.

1650, The ſame, a ſecond edition, much enlarged.

1652, ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ. Traduite de l'Anglois ſur la ſeconde et plus ample edition; et revûë par l'auteur, a Londres, par Guill.

Guill. Dugard, imprimeur du Conſeil d'Etat, l'an. 1652, 12mo.

1649, The Tenure of Kings.

—— The ſame, a ſecond edition.

1650, The ſame, a ſecond edition, with ſome additions.

1651, Pro Populo Anglicano defenſio.

1651, The ſame in folio, editio emendatior.

1651, The ſame in 12mo.

1651, Pro Populo Anglicano defenſio, Antw.

1652, The ſame.

1652, Defenſio ſecunda, Hagæ-comitum, 12mo.

1654, The ſame.

1652, Joannis Philippi Angli reſponſio, 12mo, Londini.

1692, The

1692, The Defence of the People of England, tranſlated by Mr. Waſhington of the Temple, octavo.

1655, Pro ſe defenſio, Hagæ-comitum, 12mo.

1655, Scriptum Dom. Protectoris Reipublicæ Angliæ, &c.

1659, Literæ, Senatus Anglicani necnon Cromwelli, &c. nomine, conſcriptæ, 12mo.

1659, Conſiderations to remove hirelings out of the Church, 12mo.

1659, A letter concerning the Commonwealth, 12mo.

1659, The Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth.

1659, A ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a Commonwealth.

1659, A

1659, A treatiſe of Civil Power, 12mo.

1658, The Cabinet Council, containing the chief arts of empire, by the ever renowned knight Sir Walter Raleigh. Publiſhed by John Milton, Eſq. printed by J. Newcomb, in twelves.

1660, Accedence commenced Grammar, 12mo.

1669, The ſame.

1660, Brief notes upon a ſermon.

1661, Aphoriſms of State, a Tract of Sir Walter Raleigh's, 8vo.

1670, The hiſtory of Britain.

1671, The ſame.

1672, Artis Logicæ Inſtitutio, 12mo.

1673, Editio ſecunda, 12mo.

1673, Of true Religion, 12mo.

1674, Epiſ-

1674, Epiſtolarum Familiarium Liber, 8vo.

1674, Declaration of the Poles.

1676, Letters of State, 12mo. tranſlated into Engliſh, 1694.

1682, The Hiſtorie of Moſcovia, 8vo.

1738, The Areopagitica was publiſhed with a preface by Thomſon, 8vo.

The dates of the original editions of MILTON's Poetical Works.

1667, Paradiſe Loſt, in ten books.

1668, The ſame.

1669, The ſame, with the argument and addreſs to the reader, from S. Simons.

1669, The

1669, The ſame, without the addreſs.

1672, The ſame, in twelve books.

1674, Paradiſe Loſt, in twelve books, 2d edit. 8vo.

1675, The ſame.

1678, The ſame.

1645, Poems, 12mo.

1673, Poems, with the Tractate on Education, written above twenty years ſince, 8vo.

1671, Paradiſe Regained, and Samſon Agoniſtes, 8vo.

1680, The ſame.

1750, The firſt book of Paradiſe Loſt, Glaſgow, illuſtrated with notes and references to the antient Poets. It is to be lamented, that

that the whole poem had not been publiſhed in the ſame manner.

All the above editions in Quarto, except thoſe marked otherwiſe.

OF EDUCATION,

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

MASTER HARTLIB,

I AM long ſince perſwaded, that to ſay, or doe ought worth memory, and imitation, no purpoſe or reſpect ſhould ſooner move us, then ſimply the love of GOD, and of mankinde. Nevertheleſſe to write now the reforming of Education, though it be one of the greateſt and nobleſt deſignes, that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation periſhes, I had not yet at this time been induc't, but by your earneſt entreaties, and ſerious conjurements; as

having my minde for the preſent halfe diverted in the perſuance of ſome other aſſertions, the knowledge and the uſe of which, cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth and honeſt living, with much more peace. Nor ſhould the lawes of any private friendſhip have prevail'd with me to divide thus, or tranſpoſe my former thoughts, but that I ſee thoſe aims, thoſe actions which have won you with me the eſteem of a perſon ſent hither by ſome good providence from a farre country to be the occaſion and the incitement of great good to this Iland. And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the ſame repute with men of moſt approved wiſdom, and ſome of higheſt authority among

among us. Not to mention the learned correſpondence which you hold in forreigne parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have us'd in this matter both heer, and beyond the Seas; either by the definite will of God ſo ruling, or the peculiar ſway of nature, which alſo is God's working. Neither can I thinke that ſo reputed, and ſo valu'd as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own diſcerning ability, impoſe upon me an unfit and over ponderous argument, but that the ſatisfaction which you profeſſe to have receiv'd from thoſe incidentall diſcourſes which we have wander'd into, hath preſt and almoſt conſtrain'd you into a perſwaſion, that what you require from me in this point,

I neither ought, nor can in conſcience deferre beyond this time both of ſo much need at once, and ſo much opportunity to trie what God hath determin'd. I will not reſiſt therefore, what ever it is either of divine, or humane obligement that you lay upon me; but will forthwith ſet down in writing, as you requeſt me, that voluntary *Idea*, which hath long in ſilence preſented it ſelf to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehenſion farre more large, and yet of time farre ſhorter, and of attainment farre more certain, then hath been yet in practice. Briefe I ſhall endeavour to be; for that which I have to ſay, aſſuredly this nation hath extreame need ſhould be done ſooner than ſpok'n. To tell

tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned authors, I ſhall ſpare; and to ſearch what many modern *Ianua's* and *Didactics* more than ever I ſhall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of theſe few obſervations which have flowr'd off, and are as it were the burniſhing of many ſtudious and contemplative yeers altogether ſpent in the ſearch of religious and civil knowledge, and ſuch as pleas'd you ſo well in the relating, I here give you them to diſpoſe of.

The end then of learning is to repair the ruin of our firſt parents by regaining to know GOD aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him,

to be like him, as we may the neereſt by poſſeſſing our ſouls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the higheſt perfection. But becauſe our underſtanding cannot in this body found it ſelfe but on ſenſible things, nor arrive ſo cleerly to the knowledge of God and things inviſible, as by orderly conning over the viſible and inferior creature, the ſame method is neceſſarily to be follow'd in all diſcreet teaching. And ſeeing every nation affords not experience and tradition anough for all kinde of learning, and therefore we are chiefly taught the language of thoſe people who have at any time been moſt induſtrious after wiſdom; ſo that language is but the inſtrument convay-

ing

ing to us things uſeful to be known. And though a linguiſt ſhould pride himſelfe to have all the tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet, if he have not ſtudied the ſolid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing ſo much to be eſteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradeſman competently wiſe in his mother dialect only. Hence appear the many miſtakes which have made learning generally ſo unpleaſing and ſo unſucceſsfull; firſt we do amiſſe to ſpend ſeven or eight yeers meerly in feraping together ſo much miſerable Latin, and Greek, as might be learnt otherwiſe eaſily and delightfully in one yeer. And that which caſts our proficiency therein ſo much behinde, is

our time loſt partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to ſchools and univerſities, partly in a prepoſterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compoſe Theams, verſes, and Orations, which are the acts of ripeſt judgement and the finall work of a head fill'd by long reading, and obſerving, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. Theſe are not matters to be wrung from poor ſtriplings, like blood out of the noſe, or the plucking of untimely fruit: beſides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing againſt the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutor'd *Anglicifms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continu'd and judicious converſing among pure Authors

thors digeſted, which they ſcarce taſte, whereas, if after ſome preparatory grounds of ſpeech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in ſome choſen ſhort book leſſon'd throughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the ſubſtance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the moſt rationall and moſt profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may beſt hope to give account to GOD of our youth ſpent herein: and for the uſual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old errour of univerſities not yet well recover'd from the Scholaſtick groſneſſe of

barbarous ages, that inſtead of beginning with Arts moſt eaſie, and thoſe be ſuch as are moſt obvious to the ſence, they preſent their young unmatriculated novices at firſt coming with the moſt intellective abſtractions of Logick and metaphyſicks: So that they having but newly left thoſe grammatick flats and ſhallows where they ſtuck unreaſonably to learn a few words with lamentable conſtruction, and now on the ſudden tranſported under another climat to be toſt and turmoild with their unballaſted wits in fadomles and unquiet deeps of controverſie, do for the moſt part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mockt and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they

they expected worthy and delightfull knowledge; till poverty or youthfull yeers call them importunately their severall wayes, and haſten them with the ſway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; Some allur'd to the trade of Law grounding their purpoſes not on the prudent, and heavenly contemplation of juſtice and equity which was never taught them, but on the promiſing and pleaſing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to State affairs, with ſouls ſo unprincipl'd in vertue, and true generous breeding, that flattery and court ſhifts and tyrannous aphoriſmes appear to them the higheſt points of wiſdom; inſtilling

ſtilling their barren hearts with conſcientious ſlavery, if, as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others laſtly of a more delicious and airie ſpirit, retire themſelves knowing no better, to the enjoyments of eaſe and luxury, living out their daies in feaſt and jollity; which indeed is the wiſeſt and ſafeſt courſe of all theſe, unleſſe they were with more integrity undertak'n. And theſe are the errours, and theſe are the fruits of miſſpending our prime youth at the Schools and Univerſities as we do, either in learning meere words or ſuch things chiefly as were better unlearnt.

I ſhall detain you now no longer in the demonſtration of what we ſhould not doe, but ſtrait conduct ye to a hill ſide, where

here I will point ye out the right path
f a vertuous and noble education; la-
orious indeed at the firſt aſcent, but
lſe ſo ſmooth, ſo green, ſo full of good-
/ proſpect, and melodious ſounds on
very ſide, that the harp of *Orpheus*
as not more charming. I doubt not
ut ye ſhall have more adoe to drive our
lulleſt and lazieſt youth, our ſtocks and
tubbs from the infinite deſire of ſuch a
appy nurture, then we have now to
ale and drag our choiſeſt and hopeful-
eſt wits to that aſinine feaſt of ſowthiſtles
and brambles which is commonly ſet
before them, as all the food and enter-
tainment of their tendereſt and moſt do-
cible age. I call therefore a compleate
and generous education that which fits
a man

a man to perform juſtly, ſkilfully, and magnanimouſly all he offices both private and publike of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and one and twenty, leſſe time then is now beſtow'd in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophiſtry*, is to be thus order'd.

Firſt to finde out a ſpatious houſe and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty perſons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who ſhall be thought of deſert ſufficient, and ability either to doe all, or wiſely to direct, and overſee it done. This place ſhould be at once both School and Univerſity, not needing a re-

remove to any other houſe of Scholerſhip, except it be ſome peculiar Coledge of Law, or Phyſick, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for thoſe generall ſtudies which take up all our time from Lilly to the commencing, as they term it, Maſter of Art, it ſhould be abſolute. After this pattern, as many edifices may be converted to this uſe, as ſhall be needfull in every city throughout this land, which would tend much to the encreaſe of learning and civility every where. This number, leſſe or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, ſhould divide their daies work into three parts, as it lies orderly.

derly. Their ſtudies, their exerciſe, and their diet.

For their ſtudies, Firſt they ſhould begin with the chief and neceſſary rules of ſome good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better: and while this is doing, their ſpeech is to be faſhion'd to a diſtinct and cleer pronuntiation, as neer as may be to the Italian, eſpecially in the vowels. For we Engliſhmen being farre northerly, doe not open our mouthes in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern tongue; but are obſerv'd by all other nations to ſpeak exceeding cloſe and inward: So that to ſmatter Latin with an Engliſh mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French. Next to make them expert in the uſefulleſt points of

of grammar, and withall to ſeaſon them, and win them early to the love of vertue and true labour, ere any flattering ſeducement, or vain principle ſeiſe them wandering, ſome eaſie and delightfull book of education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have ſtore, as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic diſcourſes. But in Latin we have none of claſſic authoritie extant, except the two or three firſt books of *Quintilian*, and ſome ſelect peeces elſewhere. But here the main ſkill and groundwork will be, to temper them ſuch lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the ſtudy of learning, and the admiration of vertue, ſtirr'd

up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to GOD, and famous to all ages. That they may deſpiſe and ſcorn all their childiſh, and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly, and liberall exerciſes: which he who hath the art, and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectuall perſwaſions, and what with the intimation of ſome fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a ſhort ſpace gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infuſing into their young breſts ſuch an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchleſſe men. At the ſame time, ſome other hour of the day, might be taught

them the rules of Arithmetick, and ſoon after the elements of geometry even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repaſt, till bed time their thoughts will be beſt taken up in the eaſie grounds of religion, and the ſtory of ſcripture. The next ſtep would be to the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columnella*, for the matter is moſt eaſie, and if the language be difficult, ſo much the better, it is not a difficultie above their yeers. And here will be an occaſion of inciting and inabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad ſoil, and to remedy the waſt that is made of good; for this was one of Hercules praiſes. Ere halfe theſe Authors be read, which will ſoon be with

plying hard, and dayly, they cannot chooſe but be maſters of any ordinary proſe. So that it will be then ſeaſonable for them to learn in any modern Author, the uſe of the globes, and all the maps firſt with the old names; and then with the new: or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of naturall philoſophy. And at the ſame time might be entring into the Greek tongue, after the ſame manner as was before preſcrib'd in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being ſoon overcome, all the Hiſtoricall Phyſiology of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus* are open before them, and as I may ſay, under contribution. The like acceſſe will be to *Vitruvius*, to *Senecas* naturall queſtions,

tions, to *Mela*, *Celsus*, *Pliny*, or *Solinus*. And having thus past the principles of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Geography*, with a general compact of Physicks, they may descend in *Mathematicks* to the instrumentall science of *Trigonometry*, and fr m thence to Fortification, *Architecture*, Enginry, or Navigation. And in naturall Philosophy they may proceed leisurly from the History of *Meteors*, minerals, plants, and living creatures as farre as anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of Physick; that they may know the tempers, the humors, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity: which he who can wisely and timely doe, is not

only a great Phyſician to himſelfe, and to his friends, but alſo may at ſome time or other, ſave an Army by this frugall, and expenceleſſe meanes only; and not let the healthy and ſtout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this diſcipline, which is a great pitty, and no leſſe a ſhame to the commander. To ſet forward all theſe proceedings in nature and mathematicks, what hinders, but that they may procure, as oft as ſhall be needfull, the helpfull experiences of Hunters, fowlers, Fiſhermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, *Apothecaries*; and in the other ſciences, *Architects*, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomiſts; who doubtleſſe would be ready ſome for reward, and ſome to favour ſuch a hopefull ſeminary.

minary. And this will give them ſuch a reall tincture of naturall knowledge, as they ſhall never forget, but dayly augment with delight. Then alſo thoſe poets which are now counted moſt hard, will be both facil and pleaſant, *Orpheus*, *Heſiod*, *Theocritus*, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionyſius*, and in Latin *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rurall part of Virgil.

By this time, yeers and good general precepts will have furniſht them more diſtinctly with that act of reaſon which in *Ethics* is called *Proairoſis*; that they may with ſome judgement contemplat upon morall good and evill. Then will be requir'd a ſpeciall reinforcement of conſtant and ſound endoctrinating to ſet

them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of vertue and the hatred of vice: while their young and pliant affections are led through all the morall works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants; but still to be reduc't in their nightward studies wherewith they close the dayes work, under the determinat sentence of *David* or *Solomon*, or the evangels and *Apostalic* Scriptures. Being perfit in the knowledge of personall duty, they may then begin the study of Economies. And either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odde hour the *Italian* tongue. And soon after, but with warinesse, and good antidote, it would

would be wholſome anough to let them taſt ſome choiſe comedies Greek, Latin, or *Italian:* thoſe tragedies alſo that treate of houſhold matters, as *Trachiniæ*, *Alceſtis* and the like. The next remove muſt be to the ſtudy of *Politics*: to know the beginning, end, and reaſons of politicall ſocieties; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the common-wealth be ſuch poor, ſhaken, uncertain reeds, of ſuch a tottering conſcience, as many of our great counſellers have lately ſhewn themſelves, but ſtedfaſt pillars of the State. After this they are to dive into the grounds of law, and legall juſtice; deliver'd firſt, and with beſt warrant by *Moſes*; and as farre as humane prudence can be truſted,

in

in thoſe extoll'd remains of Grecian Law-givers, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, and thence to all the Romane *Edicts* and tables with their Iuſtinian; and ſo down to the *Saxon* and common laws of England, and the Statutes. Sundayes alſo and every evening may be now underſtandingly ſpent in the higheſt matters of *Theology*, and Church Hiſtory ancient and modern: and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a ſet hour might have been gain'd, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own originall; whereto it would be no impoſſibility to adde the *Chaldey*, and the *Syrian* dialect. When all theſe employments are well conquer'd, then will the choiſe hiſtories, *heroic poems*, and *Attic* tragedies

tragedies of ſtatlieſt, and moſt regal argument, with all the famous Politicall orations offer themſelves; which if they were not only read; but ſome of them got by memory, and ſolemnly pronounc't with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the ſpirit and vigor of *Demoſthenes* or *Cicero*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles*. And now laſtly will be the time to read with them thoſe organic arts which inable men to diſcourſe and write perſpicuouſly, elegantly, and according to the fitted ſtile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore ſo much as is uſefull, is to be referr'd to this due place withall her well coucht heads and Topics, untill it be time to open her contracted palm into a

grace-

gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Phalereus*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*, *Longinus*. To which Poetry would be made ſubſequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being leſſe ſuttle and fine, but more ſimple, ſenſuous, and paſſionate. I mean not here the proſody of a verſe, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar; but that ſublime art which in *Ariſtotles poetics*, in *Horace*, and the *Italian* commentaries of *Caſtelvetro*, *Taſſo*, *Mazzoni*, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true *Epic* poem, what of a *Dramatic*, what of a *Lyric*, what decorum is, which is the grand maſter peece to obſerve. This would make them ſoon perceive

perceive what deſpicable creatures our common rimers and play-writes be, and ſhew them, what Religious, what glorious and magnificent uſe might be made of Poetry both in divine and humane things. From hence and not till now will be the right ſeaſon of forming them to be able writers and compoſers in every excellent matter, when they ſhall be thus fraught with an univerſall inſight into things. Or whether they be to ſpeak in Parlament or counſell, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then alſo appear in pulpits other viſages, other geſtures, and ſtuffe otherwiſe wrought then what we now ſit under, oft times to as great a

triall

triall of our patience as any other that they preach to us. Theſe are the ſtudies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to beſtow their time in a diſciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unleſſe they rely more upon their anceſtors dead, then upon themſelves living. In which methodicall courſe it is ſo ſuppos'd they muſt proceed by the ſteddy pace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memories ſake to retire back into the middle ward, and ſometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, untill they have confirm'd, and ſolidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the laſt embattelling of a Romane legion.

egion. Now will be worth the seeing what exercises, and what recreations may best agree, and become these studies.

THEIR EXERCISE.

The course of study hitherto briefly describ'd, is, what I can guesse by reading, likest to those ancient and famous schools of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Aristotle*, and such others, out of which were bred up such a number of renowned Philosophers, orators, Historians, Poets and Princes all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia*, besides the flourishing studies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*. But herein I shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which *Plato*, noted in the commonwealth of *Sparta*; whereas

that

that city train'd up their youth moſt for warre, and theſe in their Academies and *Lycæum*, all for the gown, this inſtitution of breeding which I here delineate, ſhall be equally good both for peace and warre. Therefore about an hour and a halfe ere they eat at noon ſhould be allow'd them for exerciſe and due reſt afterwards: but the time for this may be enlarg'd at pleaſure, according as their riſing in the morning ſhall be early. The exerciſe which I commend firſt, is the exact uſe of their weapon; to guard and to ſtrike ſafely with edge, or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, ſtrong, and well in breath, is alſo the likelieſt means to make them grow large, and tall, and to inſpire them with a gallant

lant and fearleſſe courage, which being temper'd with ſeaſonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude, and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardiſe of doing wrong. They muſt be alſo practiz'd in all the locks and gripes of wraſtling, wherein Engliſhmen were wont to excell, as need may often be in fight to tugge, to grapple, and to cloſe. And this perhaps will be anough, wherein to prove and heat their ſingle ſtrength. The interim of unſweating themſelves regularly, and convenient reſt before meat may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and compoſing their travail'd ſpirits with ſolemn and divine harmonies of muſick

O heard,

heard, or learnt; either while the ſkilful *Organiſt* plies his grave and fancied deſcant in lofty fugues, or the whole ſymphony with artfull and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-ſtudied cords of ſome choiſe compoſer; ſome times the Lute, or ſoft organ ſtop waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martiall, or civill ditties; which if wiſe men & prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over diſpoſitions and manners, to ſmooth and make them gentle from ruſtick harſhneſſe and diſtemper'd paſſions. The like alſo would not be unexpedient after meat to aſſiſt and cheriſh nature in her firſt concoction, and ſend their mindes backe to ſtudy in good tune and ſatisfaction. Where having

ing follow'd it cloſe under vigilant eyes till about two hours before ſupper, they are by a ſudden alarum or watch word, to be call'd out to their military motions, under ſkie or covert, according to the ſeaſon, as was the Romane wont; firſt on foot, then as their age permits, on horſe back, to all the art of cavalry; That having in ſport, but with much exactneſſe, and dayly muſter, ſerv'd out the rudiments of their Souldierſhip in all the ſkill of embattailing, marching, encamping, fortifying, beſeiging and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern ſtratagems, *Tactiks* and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long warre come forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the ſervice of

their country. They would not then, if they were truſted with fair and hopefull armies, ſuffer them for want of juſt and wiſe diſcipline to ſhed away from about them like ſick feathers, though they be never ſo oft ſuppli'd; they would not ſuffer their empty and unrecrutible Colonells of twenty men in a company, to quaffe out, or convay into ſecret hoards, the wages of a deluſive liſt, and a miſerable remnant: yet in the mean while to be overmaſter'd with a ſcore or two of drunkards, the only ſouldiery left about them, or elſe to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good governours, they would not ſuffer theſe things.

But

But to return to our own inſtitute, beſides theſe conſtant exerciſes at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleaſure itſelfe abroad; In thoſe vernal ſeaſons of the yeer, when the air is calm and pleaſant, it were an injury and ſullenneſſe againſt nature not to go out, and ſee her riches, and partake in her rejoycing with heaven and earth. I ſhould not therefore be a perſwader to them of ſtudying much then, after two or three yeer that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and ſtaid guides, to all the quarters of the land: learning and obſerving all places of ſtrength, all commodities of building and of ſoil, for towns and tillage, har-

bours and ports for trade. Somtimes taking ſea as farre as to our navy, to learn there alſo what they can in the practicall knowledge of ſailing and of ſea fight. Theſe wayes would trie all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any ſecret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance it ſelfe by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into faſhion again thoſe old admired vertues and excellencies, with farre more advantage now in this puritie of Chriſtian knowledge. Nor ſhall we then need the *Monſieurs of Paris* to take our hopefull youth into thir ſlight and prodigall cuſtodies and ſend them over back again tranſform'd

form'd into mimics, apes & Kicſhoes. But if they deſire to ſee other countries at three or four and twenty yeers of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wiſe obſervation, they will by that time be ſuch as ſhall deſerve the regard and honour of all men where they paſſe, and the ſociety and friendſhip of thoſe in all places who are beſt and moſt eminent. And perhaps then other nations will be glad to viſit us for their breeding, or elſe to imitate us in their own country.

Now laſtly for their diet there cannot be much to ſay, ſave only that it would be beſt in the ſame houſe; for much time elſe would be loſt abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it ſhould be plain,

healthfull, and moderate I ſuppoſe is out of controverſie. Thus Maſter *Hartlib*, yon have a generall view in writing, as your deſire was, of that which at ſeverall times I had diſcourſt with you concerning the beſt and Nobleſt way of Education; not beginning, as ſome have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many conſiderations, if brevity had not bean my ſcope, many other circumſtances alſo I could have mention'd, but this to ſuch as have the worth in them to make triall, for light and direction may be anough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to ſhoot in that counts himſelfe a teacher; but will require ſinews almoſt equall to thoſe which Homer gave Ulyſſes, yet I

am

am withall perſwaded that it may prove much more eaſie in the aſſay, then it now ſeems at diſtance, and much more illuſtrious: howbeit not more difficult then I imagine, and that imagination preſents me with nothing but very happy and very poſſible according to beſt wiſhes; if God have ſo decreed, and this age have ſpirit and capacity anough to apprehend.

AREOPAGITICA;

A

SPEECH

OF

Mr. *JOHN MILTON*

For the Liberty of VNLICENC'D

PRINTING,

To the PARLIAMENT of *ENGLAND.*

Τ'ουλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρηστόν τι βούλευμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ, τί τούτων ἐστὶν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

Euripid. Hicetid.

This is true Liberty when free born men
Having to advise the public may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State than this?

Euripid. Hicetid.

LONDON,
Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

PREFACE,

By Mr. THOMSON.

THERE is no need of a Preface to recommend this admirable defence f the beſt of human rights, to any one ho has ever heard of the DIVINE MIL- ON: and it is impoſſible to produce etter arguments, or to ſet them in a ore convincing, awakening light.

Is it poſſible that any Free-born Bri- n, who is capable of thinking, can ever ſe all ſenſe of religion and virtue, and f the dignity of human nature to ſuch degree, as to wiſh for that univerſal norance, Darkneſs, and Barbarity, againſt

againſt which the abſolute Freedom o
the Preſs is the only Preſervative? Fo
what elſe ſpreads light, or diffuſes know
ledge through the world? But it ſeem
as a ſenſe of the value of health is ſome
times loſt in the midſt of its full enjoy
ment; ſo men, through a habit of libe
ty, may become inſenſible of its ineſt
mable worth: otherwiſe would not ever
one awake, rouſe himſelf, and ſay, whe
the moſt dear and valuable of all th
privileges, that government is deſigne
to protect, is menaced, "That he wi
"ſooner part with life itſelf than wit
"that liberty without which life is n
"worth the having: that he will ſoon
"ſuffer his eyes to be put out, than h
"underſtanding to be extinguiſhed

We are told in hiſtory of a * people hat, after they had been inured to fla- ery, were in a panick fear, when their berty was offered to them. And this rrible effect of ſlavery ought to make very lover of mankind tremble at the oughts of any ſteps or approaches to- ards the diminution of liberty. "For without it, as Homer has told us, men ſoon ceaſe to be men: they ſoon ceaſe to be rational creatures."

Now without the abſolute unbounded eedom of writing and publiſhing, there no liberty; no ſhadow of it: it is an npty ſound. For what can Liberty ean, if it does not mean, the Liberty f exercifing, improving, and informing

* The Cappadocians.

our

our underſtandings? "A people have "Liberty," ſaid a truly good king * of England, "when they are free as thought "is free. What is it that makes a city, "(ſaid the good Alcæus, a poet, whoſe "muſe was always ſacred and faithful to "the beſt of cauſes) it is not walls and "buildings; no, it is being inhabited "by men: by men, who know them-"ſelves to be men, and have ſuitable "notions of the dignity of human na-"ture: by men, who know what it is "alone that exalts them above the "brutes." Can we be either virtuous or religious, without the free uſe of our reaſon, without the means of knowledge? And can we have knowledge, if men

* Elfrid.

dare

dare not freely ſtudy, and as freely communicate the fruits of their ſtudies? What is it that diſtinguiſhes human ſociety from a brutiſh herd, but the flouriſhing of the Arts and Sciences, the free exerciſe of Wit and Reaſon? What can government mean, intend, or produce, that is worthy of man, or beneficial to him, as he is a rational creature, beſides Wiſdom, Knowledge, Virtue, and Science? Is it merely indeed that we may eat, drink, ſleep, ſing, and dance, with ſecurity, that we chooſe governours, ſubject ourſelves to their adminiſtration, and pay taxes? Take away the Arts, Religion, Knowledge, Vertue, (all of which muſt flouriſh, or ſink together) and, in the name of goodneſs,

what is left to us that is worth enjoying or protecting? Yet take away the Liberty of the preſs, and we are all at once ſtript of the uſe of our nobleſt faculties: our ſouls themſelves are impriſoned in a dark dungeon: we may breathe, but we cannot be ſaid to live.

If the end of governors and government is not to diffuſe with a liberal unſparing equal hand, true rational happineſs; but to make the bulk of mankind beaſts of burden, that a few may wallow in brutiſh pleaſures: then it is conſiſtent politicks to root out the deſire and love of Light and Knowledge. Certain Scythian ſlaves, that they might work the harder, had only their eyes deſtroyed. But to extinguiſh human underſtanding.

ſtanding, and eſtabliſh a kingdom of darkneſs, is juſt ſo far more barbarous than even that monſtrous cruelty, as the mind excels the body; or as underſtanding and reaſon are ſuperior to ſenſe. Cardinal Richlieu ſays, in his Political Teſtament, "That ſubjects with knowledge, ſenſe, and reaſon, are as monſtrous as a beaſt with hundreds of eyes would be; and that ſuch a beaſt will never bear its burden peaceably. Whence he infers, it is impoſſible to promote deſpotick power, while learning is encouraged and extended. The people muſt be hood-winked, or rather blinded, if one would have them tame and patient drudges. In ſhort, you muſt treat them every way like

" pack-horſes or mules, not excepting " the bells about their necks, which by " their perpetual jingling may be of uſe " to drown their cares." Now this is plain dealing, and conſiſtent politicks. But to talk of Liberty and Free Government, Publick Good and Rational Happineſs, as requiring limitations on the Preſs, and Licenſers of books, is as abſurd as to ſpeak of liberty in a dungeon with chains on every limb. Hobbes too was conſiſtent with himſelf, and adviſes thoſe who aim at abſolute dominion, to deſtroy all the antient Greek and Latin authors; becauſe, if thoſe are read, Principles of Liberty, and juſt Sentiments of the Dignity and Rights of Mankind muſt be imbib'd. But can there be more

more glaring bare-faced nonſenſe than to ſay, "That the very ſupport of a free "conſtitution requires the Extinction of "the Preſs;" that is, the Extinction of the ONLY Means of knowing what we are as Men and Chriſtians; what our natures are capable of; what is our juſt happineſs, and how we ought to be treated by our governors; that is, by thoſe whom we have entruſted with the management of our intereſts and concerns!

I hope it will never be this nation's misfortune to fall into the hands of an adminiſtration that do not from their ſouls abhor any thing that has but the remoteſt tendency towards the erection of a new and arbitrary juriſdiction over the

preſs: or can otherwiſe look upon any attempt that way, than as the greateſt impiety, the cruelleſt, the wickedeſt, the moſt irreligious thing that can be imagined. Would it not be ſacrilegiouſly robbing God of the only worſhip he delights in, "the worſhip of the heart and "underſtanding?" Can there be Religion or Virtue without Reaſon, Thought, and Choice? Or can Reaſon, Thinking, Knowledge, and Choice, ſubſiſt without the only conceivable means of making men wiſe and and underſtanding, rational, and virtuous? What is the kingdom of CHRIST? doth not our Saviour delight in calling it *Light*, and a *Kingdom of Light?* And what did he come to deſtroy but the kingdom of darkneſs?

darkneſs? And can there be a kingdom of light, without the liberty, the unconſtrained liberty, of diffuſing light and knowledge? What is the *Reformation*, or what does it mean, but the Liberty, the abſolute and perfect Liberty of correcting and refuting errors, and of undeceiving mankind? What is it that we call PROTESTANTISM, but a reſolution ſtedfaſtly and undauntedly to oppoſe all encroachments upon rational Liberty, the Liberty of the judgment and underſtanding; and to maintain it as our moſt valuable treaſure, our greateſt and nobleſt privilege, in compariſon of which, all other rights are mean and trifling, and hardly deſerve the name of bleſſings and advantages? A free Proteſtant

Country, without the Liberty of the Preſs, is a contradiction in terms; it is free ſlavery, or inchained Liberty. Light and Darkneſs are not more oppoſite than Liberty and the Deprivation of the means of being rational.

Who, that loves mankind, is not ſorry that any thing is ever publiſhed tending to confound men's underſtanding, miſlead their judgments, or deprave their morals? But is there any more likely method for ſenſe to prevail againſt abſurdities, than leaving her at full liberty to paint them in their native colours? Can truth be better armed againſt error than with the mighty blade of uncontrouled Reaſon? Or virtue more ſurely triumph over immorality, than by the

the vigorous execution of the truly wholeſome laws purpoſely framed for her ſupport?

I hate all calumny and defamation, as I hate the corruption of heart, from which alone it can proceed; and do with the utmoſt zeal deteſt thoſe prophaners of Liberty, who pretending to be friends to it, have recourſe to ſuch black diabolical methods. But I take the laws already in force amongſt us to be a more than ſufficient preſervative (at leaſt as far as human prudence is able to provide) againſt all the abuſive overt-acts I am now expreſſing my abhorrence of: and as ſuch we have reaſon to eſteem them very valuable ſecurities of our Liberties and reputations. But becauſe

wicked

wicked things are publiſh'd muſt there be no publiſhing? I know it is objected that there is a medium between an abſolute Liberty of the Preſs, and an abſolute Suppreſſion of it. Which I admit; but yet aver the medium (by which either Licenſing or nothing at all is meant) is far worſe on all accounts than either extreme. For though we are indeed told, that Licenſers would ſerve us with wholeſome goods, feed us with food convenient for us, and only prevent the diſtribution of poiſon; ſure ſuch cant was never meant to impoſe on any, but thoſe who are aſleep, and cannot ſee one inch before them. Let no True Briton therefore be deceived by ſuch fallacious ſpeeches, but conſider the neceſſary conſequences

ſequences which muſt follow, and he will ſoon find that it is as the flattering language of the ſtrange woman [in the book of Proverbs] who with her fair ſmooth tongue, beguileth the ſimple, and leadeth them as an ox to the ſlaughter. That plauſible and deceitful language leadeth indeed into the chambers of darkneſs and death. But this ſubject is fully handled in the excellent Treatiſe ſubjoin'd. I will only propoſe to the conſideration of all lovers of Religion, Virtue, Science, and Mankind, the few following queries; and every one ought methinks to propoſe them to himſelf every day of his life, as making a fundamental Catechiſm. For if the truths, which theſe contain, are not fundamental,

tal, man is not a man, but a beaſt; religion and virtue are empty names.

1. What is our moſt valuable part, or what is it that maketh us capable of Religion, Virtue, and rational Happineſs? Is it not our Reaſon or Underſtanding?

2. What then is the nobleſt privilege that belongs to man? Is it not the free Exerciſe of his Underſtanding, the full uſe of all the means of advancing in Virtue and Knowledge?

3. What is it then that is, and muſt be, the chief end of government to encourage and promote? Is it not Knowledge, Virtue, and Religion?

4. And can Knowledge, Virtue, or Religion, be promoted, if the only means

of promoting them are taken away? For what are the means of promoting them, but the liberty of writing and publishing, without running any risque but that of being refuted or ridiculed, where any thing advanced chances to labour under the just imputation of falshood or absurdity?

AREOPAGITICA;

A SPEECH of Mr. JOHN MILTON,

For the Liberty of unlicenc'd Printing.

THEY who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parlament, or wanting ſuch acceſſe in a private condition, write that which they foreſee may advance the publick good; I ſuppoſe them as at the beginning of no meane endeavour, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes: Some with doubt of what will be the ſucceſſe, others with feare of what will be the cenſure; ſome with hope, others with

with confidence of what they have to ſpeake. And me perhaps each of theſe diſpoſitions, as the ſubject was whereon I enter'd, may have at other times variouſly affected; and likely might in theſe formoſt expreſſions now alſo diſcloſe which of them ſway'd moſt, but that the very attempt of this addreſſe thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourſe to, hath got the power within me to a paſſion, farre more welcome then incidentall to a Preface. Which though I ſtay not to confeſſe ere any aſke, I ſhall be blameleſſe, if it be no other, then the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wiſh and promote their Countries liberty; whereof this whole diſcourſe propos'd will be a

certaine

certaine teſtimony, if not a Trophey. For this is not the liberty which wee can hope, that no grievance ever ſhould ariſe in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply conſider'd, and ſpeedily reform'd, then is the utmoſt bound of civill liberty attain'd, that wiſe men looke for. To which if we now manifeſt by the very ſound of this which I ſhall utter, that wee are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from ſuch a ſteepe diſadvantage of tyranny and ſuperſtition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a *Roman* recovery, it will bee attributed firſt, as is moſt due, to the ſtrong aſſiſtance of GOD our deliverer, next to your faithfull

guidance and undaunted Wiſdome, Lords and Commons of *England*. Neither is it in GOD's eſteeme the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are ſpoken of good men and worthy Magiſtrates; which if I now firſt ſhould begin to doe, after ſo fair a progreſſe of your laudable deeds, and ſuch a long obligement upon the whole Realme to your indefatigable vertues, I might be juſtly reckn'd among the tardieſt, and unwillingeſt of them that praiſe yee. Nevertheleſſe there being three principal things, without which all praiſing is but courtſhip and flattery, Firſt, when that only is prais'd which is ſolidly worth praiſe: next when greateſt likelihoods are brought that ſuch things are truly

and

and really in thoſe perſons to whom they are aſcrib'd, the other, when he who praiſes, by ſhewing that ſuch his actuall perſwaſion is of whom he writes, can demonſtrate that he flatters not; the former two of theſe I have heretofore endeavour'd, reſcuing the employment from him who went about to impaire your merits with a triviall and malignant *Encomium*; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine owne acquittall, that whom I ſo extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reſerv'd opportunely to this occaſion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the beſt cov'nant of his fidelity; and that his loyaleſt affection and his hope

wäits on your proceedings. His higheſt praiſing is not flattery, and his plaineſt advice is a kinde of praiſing; for though I ſhould affirme and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publiſht Orders which I ſhould name, were call'd in, yet at the ſame time it could not but much redound to the luſtre of your milde and equall Government, when as private perſons are hereby animated to thinke ye better pleas'd with publick advice, then other ſtatiſts have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery. And men will then ſee what difference there is between the magnanimity of a trienniall Parlament, and that jealous hautineſſe of Pre-

ates and cabin Counſellours that uſurpt of late, when as they ſhall obſerve yee in the midd'ſt of your Victories and ſucceſſes more gently brooking writt'n exceptions againſt a voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc't nothing worth memory but the weake oſtentation of wealth, would have endur'd the leaſt ſignifi'd diſlike at any ſudden Proclamation. If I ſhould thus farre preſume upon the meek demeanour of your civill and gentle greatneſſe, Lords and Commons, as what your publiſht Order hath directly ſaid, that to gainſay, I might defend my ſelfe with eaſe, if any ſhould accuſe me of being new or inſolent, did they but know how much better I find ye eſteem it to imitate the old and ele-

gant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride of a *Hunniſh* and *Norwegian* ſtatelines. And out of thoſe ages, to whoſe polite wiſdom and letters we owe that we are not yet *Gothes* and *Jutlanders*, I could name him who from his private houſe wrote that diſcourſe to the Parlament of *Athens*, that perſwades them to change the forme of *Democraty* which was then eſtabliſht. Such honour was done in thoſe dayes to men who profeſt the ſtudy of wiſdome and eloquence, not only in their own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Signiories heard them gladly, and with great reſpect, if they had ought in publick to admoniſh the State. Thus did *Dion Pruſæus* a ſtranger and a privat Orator

tor counſell the *Rhodians* againſt a former edict: and I abound with other like examples, which to ſet heer would be ſuperfluous. But if from the induſtry of a life wholly dedicated to ſtudious labours, and thoſe naturall endowments haply not the worſt for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, ſo much muſt be derogated, as to count me not equall to any of thoſe who had this priviledge, I would obtain to be thought not ſo inferior, as your ſelves are ſuperior to the moſt of them who receiv'd their counſell: and how farre you excell them, be aſſur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater teſtimony appear, then when your prudent ſpirit acknowledges and obeyes the voice of reaſon

from what quarter ſoever it be heard ſpeaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own ſetting forth, as any ſet forth by your Predeceſſors.

If ye be thus reſolv'd, as it were injury to thinke ye were not, I know not what ſhould withhold me from preſenting ye with a fit inſtance wherein to ſhew both that love of truth which ye eminently profeſſe, and that uprightneſſe of your judgement which is not wont to be partiall to your ſelves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd *to regulate Printing*. *That no Book, pamphlet, or paper ſhall be henceforth Printed, unleſſe the ſame be firſt approv'd and licenc't by ſuch*, or at leaſt one of ſuch as ſhall be thereto appointed. For that

that part which preſerves juſtly every mans Copy to himſelfe, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wiſh they be not made pretenſes to abuſe and perſecute honeſt and painfull Men, who offend not in either of theſe particulars. But that other clauſe of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadrageſimal* and *matrimonial* when the Prelats expir'd, I ſhall now attend with ſuch a Homily, as ſhall lay before ye, firſt the inventors of it to bee thoſe whom ye will be loath to own; next what is to be thought in generall of reading, whatever ſort the Books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the ſuppreſſing of ſcandalous, ſeditious, and libellous Books, which were mainly intended

tended to be fuppreſt. Laſt, that it will be primely to the diſcouragement of all learning, and the ſtop of Truth, not only by diſexerciſing and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindring and cropping the diſcovery that might bee yet further made both in religious and civill Wiſdome.

I deny not, but that it is of greateſt concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themſelves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, impriſon, and do ſharpeſt juſtice on them as malefactors: For Books are not abſolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that ſoule was whoſe progeny they are;

are; nay they do preſerve as in a violl the pureſt efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorouſly productive, as thoſe fabulous Dragons teeth; and being ſown up and down, may chance to ſpring up armed men. And yet on the other hand, unleſſe warineſſe be us'd, as good almoſt kill a man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reaſonable creature, God's image; but hee who deſtroyes a good Booke, kills reaſon itſelf, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a maſter ſpirit, imbalm'd and treaſur'd up on purpoſe to a life beyond life.

life. 'Tis true, no age can reſtore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loſſe; and revolutions of ages dòe not oft recover the loſſe of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worſe. We ſhould be wary therefore what perſecution we raiſe againſt the living labours of publick men, how we ſpill that ſeaſon'd life of man preſerv'd and ſtor'd up in Books; ſince we ſee a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, ſometimes a martyrdome, and if it extend to the whole impreſſion, a kinde of maſſacre, whereof the execution ends not in the ſlaying of an elementall life, but ſtrikes at that ethereall and fift eſſence, the breath of reaſon it ſelfe, ſlaies an immortality rather than a life.

But

But leſt I ſhould be condemn'd of introducing licence, while I oppoſe Licenſing, I refuſe not the paines to be ſo much Hiſtoricall, as will ſerve to ſhew what hath been done by ancient and famous Commonwealths, againſt this diſorder, till the very time that this project of licencing crept out of the *Inquiſition*, was catcht up by our Prelates, and hath caught ſome of our Presbyters.

In *Athens* where Books and Wits were ever buſier then in any other part of *Greece*, I finde but only two ſorts of writings which the Magiſtrate car'd to take notice of; thoſe either blaſphemous and Atheiſticall, or Libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the Iudges of *Areopagus* commanded to be burnt, and

and himſelfe baniſht the territory for a diſcourſe begun with his confeſſing not to know *whether there were gods, or whether not*: And againſt defaming, it was decreed that none ſhould be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comœdia*, whereby we may gueſſe how they cenſur'd libelling: and this courſe was quick enough, as *Cicero* writes, to quell both the deſperate wits of other Atheiſts, and the open way of defaming, as the event ſhew'd. Of other ſects and opinions though tending to voluptuouſneſſe, and the denying of divine providence they tooke no heed. Therefore we do not read that either *Epicurus*, or that libertine ſchool of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* impudence utter'd, was ever queſtion'd

tion'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of thoſe old Comedians were ſuppreſt, though the acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the reading of *Ariſtophanes* the looſeſt of them all, to his royall ſcholler *Dionyſius*, is commonly known and may be excus'd, if holy *Chryſoſtome*, as is reported, nightly ſtudied ſo much the ſame Author and had the art to cleanſe a ſcurrilous vehemence into the ſtile of a rouſing Sermon. That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon*, conſidering that *Lycurgus* their Law-giver was ſo addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the firſt that brought out of *Jonia* the ſcatter'd workes of *Homer*, and ſent the Poet *Thales* from

Creet

Creet to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* furlineſſe with his ſmooth ſongs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wonder'd how muſeleſſe and unbookiſh they were, minding nought but the feats of Warre. There needed no licencing of Books among them for they diſlik'd all, but their owne *Laconick Apothegms*, and took a ſlight occaſion to chaſe *Archilochus* out of their city, perhaps for compoſing in a higher ſtraine then their owne ſouldierly ballats and roundels could reach to: or if it were for his broad verſes, they were not therein ſo cautious, but they were as diſſolute in their promiſcuous converſing; whence *Euripides* affirmes in *Andromache*, that their women were all

all unchaſte. Thus much may give us light after what ſort of Bookes were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans alſo for many ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, reſembling moſt the *Lacedæmonian* guiſe, knew of learning little but what their twelve Tables, and the *Pontifick* College with their *Augurs* and *Flamins* taught them in Religion and Law, ſo unacquainted with other learning, that when *Carneades* and *Critolaus*, with the *Stoick Diogenes* comming Embaſſadors to *Rome*, tooke thereby occaſion to give the City a taſt of their Philoſophy, they were ſuſpected for ſeducers by no leſſe a man then *Cato* the Cenſor, who mov'd it in the Senat to diſmiſſe them ſpeedily, and to baniſh all

ſuch *Attick* bablers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio* and others of the nobleſt Senators withſtood him and his old *Sabin* auſterity: honour'd and admir'd the men; and the Cenſor himſelf at laſt in his old age fell to the ſtudy of that whereof before hee was ſo ſcrupulous. And yet at the ſame time *Nævius* and *Plautus* the firſt Latine comedians had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*. Then began to be conſider'd there alſo what was to be don to libellous books and Authors; for *Nævius* was quickly caſt into priſon for his unbridl'd pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his recantation: We read alſo that libels were burnt, and the makers puniſht by *Auguſtus*. The like ſeverity no doubt

was

was us'd if ought were impiouſly writt'n againſt their eſteemed gods. Except in theſe two points, how the world went in Books, the Magiſtrat kept no reckning. And therefore *Lucretius* without impeachment verſifies his Epicuriſm to *Memmius*, and had the honour to be ſet forth the ſecond time by *Cicero* ſo great a father of the Commonwealth; although himſelfe diſputes againſt that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the Satyricall ſharpneſſe, or naked plainnes of *Lucilius*, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any order prohibited. And for matters of State, the ſtory of *Titus Livius*, though it extoll'd that part which *Pompey* held, was not therefore ſuppreſt by *Octavius Cæſar* of the other Faction. But that

Naſo was by him baniſht in his old age, for the wanton Poems of his youth, was but a meer covert of State over ſome ſecret cauſe: and beſides, the Books were neither baniſht nor call'd in. From hence we ſhall meet with little elſe but tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvell, if not ſo often bad, as good Books were ſilenc't. I ſhall therefore deem to have bin large anough in producing what among the ancients was puniſhable to write, ſave only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the Emperors were become Chriſtians, whoſe diſcipline in this point I doe not finde to have bin more ſevere then what was formerly in practice.

tice. The Books of thoſe whom they took to be grand Hereticks were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the generall Councels; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by autority of the Emperor. As for the writings of Heathen authors, unleſſe they were plaine invectives againſt Chriſtianity, as thoſe of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Councel, wherein Biſhops themſelves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Hereſies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary ſcrupl'd more the Books of Hereticks, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councels and Biſhops were wont only to de-

clare what Books were not commendable, paſſing no furder, but leaving it to each ones conſcience to read or to lay by, till after the yeare 800, is obſerv'd already by *Padre Paolo* the great unmaſker of the *Trentine* Councel. After which time the Popes of *Rome* engroſſing what they pleas'd of Politicall rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over their judgements, burning and prohibiting to be read, what they fanſied not; yet ſparing in their cenſures, and the Books not many which they ſo dealt with: till *Martin* the 5. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the firſt that excommunicated the reading of hereticall Books; for about that time *Wicklef* and

and *Huſſe* growing terrible, were they who firſt drove the Papall Court to a ſtricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours *Leo* the 10, and his ſucceſſors follow'd, untill the Councell of Trent, and the Spaniſh Inquiſition engendring together brought forth, or perfeted thoſe Catalogues, and expurging Indexes that rake through the entralls of many an old good Author, with a violation wors then any could be offer'd to his tomb. Nor did they ſtay in matters Hereticall, but any ſubject that was not to their palat, they either condemn'd in a prohibition, or had it ſtrait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the meaſure of encroachment, their laſt invention was to ordain that no Book, pamphlet, or

paper ſhould be Printed (as if S. *Peter* had bequeath'd them the keys of the Preſſe alſo out of Paradiſe) unleſſe it were approv'd and licenc't under the hands of 2 or 3 glutton Friers. For example:

Let the Chancellor *Cini* be pleas'd to ſee if in this preſent work be contain'd ought that may withſtand the Printing,

Vincent Rabatta Vicar of *Florence*.

I have ſeen this preſent work, and find nothing athwart the Catholick faith and good manners: In witneſſe whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolò Cini Chancellor of Florence.

Attending

Attending the precedent relation, it is allow'd that this preſent work of *Davanzati* may be Printed,

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be printed, *July* 15.

Frior *Simon Mompei d'Amelia* Chancellor of the holy office in *Florence*.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomleſſe pit had not long ſince broke priſon, that this quadruple exorciſm would barre him down. I feare their next deſigne will be to get into their cuſtody the licencing of that which they ſay * *Claudius* intended, but went not

* Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi. Sueton. in Claudio.

through

through with. Voutſafe to ſee another of their forms the Roman ſtamp :

Imprimatur, If it ſeem good to the reverend Maſter of the holy Palace,

Eelcaſtro Vicegerent.

Imprimatur,

Friar *Nicolò Rodolphi* Maſter of the holy Palace.

Sometimes 5 *Imprimaturs* are ſeen together dialogue-wiſe in the Piatza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with their ſhav'n reverences, whether the Author, who ſtands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epiſtle, ſhall to the Preſſe or to the ſpunge. Theſe are the pretty reſponſories, theſe are the deare Antiphonies that ſo bewicht of late our Prelats, and their Chap-

ines with the goodly Eccho they made;
d beſotted us to the gay imitation of a
rdly *Imprimatur*, one from Lambeth
uſe, another from the Weſt end of
uls; ſo apiſhly Romanizing, that the
ord of command ſtill was ſet downe in
atine; as if the learned Grammaticall
n that wrote it, would caſt no ink
thout Latine: or perhaps, as they
ought, becauſe no vulgar tongue was
orthy to expreſſe the pure conceit of
Imprimatur; but rather, as I hope,
r that our Engliſh, the language of
en ever famous, and formoſt in the
chievements of liberty, will not eaſily
de ſervile letters anow to ſpell ſuch a
ſtatorie preſumption Engliſht. And
us ye have the Inventors and the ori-

ginall

ginall of Book-licencing ript up, an
drawn as lineally as any pedigree. W
have it not, that can be heard of, fro
any ancient State, or politie, or Churc
not by any Statute left us by our Ance
tors elder or later; nor from the mo
derne cuſtom of any reformed Citty, c
Church abroad; but from the moſt Ant
chriſtian Councel, and the moſt tyran
nous Inquiſition that ever inquir'd. Ti
then Books were ever as freely admitte
into the World as any other birth; th
iſſue of the brain was no more ſtifl'd the
the iſſue of the womb: no envious *Jun*
ſate croſ-leg'd over the nativity of an
mans intellectuall off-ſpring; but if i
prov'd a Monſter, who denies, but tha
it was juſtly burnt, or ſunk into the Sea.

But

But that a Book in wors condition then a peccant soul, should be to stand before a Jury ere it be borne to the World, and undergo yet in darkneſſe the judgement of *Radamanth* and his Collegues, ere it can paſſe the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that myſterious iniquity provokt and troubl'd at the firſt entrance of Reformation, sought out new limbo's and new hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsell so officiously snatcht up, and so ilfavourdly imitated by our inquisiturient Bishops, and the attendant minorites their Chaplains. That ye like not now theſe moſt certain Authors of this licencing order, and that all siniſter

intention

intention was farre diſtant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the paſſing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear yee readily.

But ſome will ſay, What though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may ſo; yet if that thing be no ſuch deep invention, but obvious, and eaſie for any man to light on, and yet beſt and wiſeſt Commonwealths through all ages, and occaſions have forborne to uſe it, and falſeſt ſeducers, and oppreſſers of men were the firſt who tooke it up, and to no other purpoſe but to obſtruct and hinder the firſt approach of Reformation; I am of thoſe who believe, it will be a harder

der alchymy then *Lullius* ever knew, to ſublimat any good uſe out of ſuch an invention. Yet this only is what I requeſt to gain from this reaſon, that it may be held a dangerous and ſuſpicious fruit, as certainly it deſerves, for the tree that bore it, untill I can diſſect one by one the properties it has. But I have firſt to finiſh, as was propounded, what is to be thought in generall of reading Books, what ever ſort they be, and whether be more the benefit, or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to inſiſt upon the examples of *Moſes*, *Daniel*, & *Paul*, who were ſkilfull in all the learning of the Ægyptians, Caldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their Books

of

of all ſorts, in *Paul* eſpecially, who thonght it no defilement to inſert into holy Scripture the ſentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a Tragedian, the queſtion was, notwithſtanding ſometimes controverted among the Primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that ſide which affirm'd it both lawfull and profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd, when *Julian* the Apoſtat, and ſuttleſt enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Chriſtians the ſtudy of heathen learning: for, ſaid he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our owne arts and ſciences they overcome us. And indeed the Chriſtians were put ſo to ther ſhifts by this crafty means, and ſo much in danger to decline into all ignorance,

ignorance, that the two *Apollinarii* were fain as a man may ſay, to coin all the ſeven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculating of a new Chriſtian Grammar. But ſaith the Hiſtorian *Socrates*, The providence of GOD provided better then the induſtry of *Apollinarius* and his ſon, by taking away that illiterat law with the life of him who devis'd it. So great an injury they then held it to be depriv'd of *Hellenick* learning; and thought it a perſecution more undermining, and ſecretly decaying the Church, then the open cruelty of *Decius* or *Dioclefian*. And perhaps it was the ſame politick drift that the Divell whipt St. *Jerom* in a lenten

dream, for reading *Cicero*; or elſe it was a fantaſm bred by the feaver which had then ſeis'd him. For had an Angel bin his diſcipliner, unleſſe it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianiſm, and had chaſtiz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly partiall; firſt to correct him for grave *Cicero*, and not for ſcurrill *Plautus* whom he confeſſes to have bin reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let ſo many more ancient Fathers wax old in thoſe pleaſant and florid ſtudies without the laſh of ſuch a tutoring apparition; inſomuch that *Baſil* teaches how ſome good uſe may be made of *Margites* a ſportfull Poem, not now extant, writ by *Homer*; and why not then of *Morgante*

an

an Italian Romanze much to the ſame purpoſe. But if it be agreed we ſhall be try'd by viſions, there is a viſion recorded by *Euſebius* far ancienter then this tale of *Jerom* to the Nun *Euſtochium*, and beſides has nothing of a feavor in it. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* was about the year 240, a perſon of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himſelf much againſt hereticks by being converſant in their Books; untill a certain Preſbyter laid it ſcrupulouſly to his conſcience, how he durſt venture himſelfe among thoſe defiling volumes. The worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new debate with himſelfe what was to be thought; when ſuddenly a viſion ſent from God, it

is his own Epiſtle that ſo averrs it, confirm'd him in theſe words: Read any books what ever come to thy hands, for thou art ſufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter. To this revelation he aſſented the ſooner, as he confeſſes, becauſe it was anſwerable to that of the Apoſtle to the Theſſalonians, Prove all things, hold faſt that which is good. And he might have added another remarkable ſaying of the ſame Author; To the pure all things are pure, not only meats and drinks, but all kinde of knowledge whether of good or evill; the knowledge cannot defile, nor conſequently the books, if the will and conſcience be not defil'd. For books are as meats and viands are; ſome of good,

ſome

ſome of evill ſubſtance; and yet GOD, in that unapocryphall viſion, ſaid without exception, Riſe *Peter*, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each mans diſcretion. Wholeſome meats to a vitiated ſtomach differ little or nothing from unwholeſome; and beſt books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occaſions of evill. Bad meats will ſcarce breed good nouriſhment in the healthieſt concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a diſcreet and judicious Reader ſerve in many reſpects to diſcover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illuſtrate. Wherof what better witneſs can ye expect I ſhould produce, then one of your own now ſitting in Parlament, the chief of learned men reputed

in this Land, Mr. *Selden*, whoſe volume of naturall & national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquiſite reaſons and theorems almoſt mathematically demonſtrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read, and collated, are of main ſervice and aſſiſtance towards the ſpeedy attainment of what is trueſt. I conceive therefore, that when GOD did enlarge the univerſall diet of mans body, ſaving ever the rules of temperance, he then alſo, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repaſting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exerciſe his owne leading capacity. How great a vertue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of

of man! yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular Law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabl'd the Jews from heaven, that Omer which was every mans daily portion of manna, is computed to have bin more then might have well suffic'd the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather then issue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivat under a perpetuall childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon

thoſe things which hertofore were govern'd only by exhortation. *Salomon* informs us that much reading is a wearines to the fleſh; but neither he, nor other inſpir'd author tells us that ſuch, or ſuch reading is unlawfull; yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had bin much more expedient to have told us what was unlawfull, then what was weariſome. As for the burning of thoſe Epheſian books by St. *Pauls* converts, tis reply'd the books were magick, the Syriack ſo renders them. It was a privat act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorſe burnt thoſe books which were their own; the Magiſtrat by this example is not appointed: theſe men

practiz'd

practiz'd the books, another might perhaps have read them in ſome ſort uſefully. Good and evill we know in the field of this World grow up together almoſt inſeparably; and the knowledge of good is ſo involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of evill, and in ſo many cunning reſemblances hardly to be diſcern'd, that thoſe confuſed ſeeds which were impos'd on *Pſyche* as an inceſſant labour to cull out, and ſort aſunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple taſted, that the knowledge of good and evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the World. And perhaps this is that doom which *Adam* fell into of knowing good and evill, that is to ſay of knowing good

by evill. As therefore the ſtate of man now is; what wiſdome can there be to chooſe, what continence to forbeare without the knowledge of evill? He that can apprehend and conſider vice with all her baits and ſeeming pleaſures, and yet abſtain, and yet diſtinguiſh, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Chriſtian. I cannot praiſe a fugitive and cloiſter'd vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never ſallies out and ſees her adverſary, but ſlinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without duſt and heat. Aſſuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary.

trary. That vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmoſt that vice promiſes to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank vertue, not a pure; her whiteneſſe is but an excremental whiteneſſe; Which was the reaſon why our ſage and ſerious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, deſcribing true temperance under the perſon of *Guion*, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bowr of earthly bliſſe that he might ſee and know, and yet abſtain. Since therefore the knowledge and ſurvay of vice is in this world ſo neceſſary to the conſtituting of human vertue, and the ſcanning of

error

error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more ſafely, and with leſſe danger ſcout into the regions of ſin and falſity then by reading all manner of tractats, and hearing all manner of reaſon? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiſcuouſly read. But of the harm that may reſult hence three kinds are uſually reckn'd. Firſt, is fear'd the infection that may ſpread; but then all human learning and controverſie in religious points muſt remove out of the world, yea the Bible itſelf; for that oft-times relates blaſphemy not nicely, it deſcribes the carnall ſenſe of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holieſt men paſſionately murmuring againſt providence through all the arguments

of

of *Epicurus:* in other great diſputes it anſwers dubiouſly and darkly to the common reader: And ask a Talmudiſt what ails the modeſty of his marginall Keri, that *Moſes* and all the Prophets cannot perſwade him to pronounce the textuall Chetiv. For theſe cauſes we all know the Bible it ſelfe put by the Papiſt into the firſt rank of prohibited books. The ancienteſt Fathers muſt be next remov'd, as *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and that *Euſebian* book of Evangelick preparation, tranſmitting our ears through a hoard of heatheniſh obſcenities to receive the Goſpel. Who finds not that *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and others, diſcover more hereſies then they will confute, and that oft for hereſie which is the truer opinion.

opinion. Nor boots it to ſay for theſe, and all the heathen Writers of greateſt infection, if it muſt be thought ſo, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, ſo long as we are ſure thoſe languages are known as well to the worſt of men, who are both moſt able, and moſt diligent to inſtill the poiſon they ſuck, firſt into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choiſeſt delights, and criticiſms of ſin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Maſter of his revels; and that notorious ribald of *Arezzo*, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for poſterities ſake, whom *Harry* the 8. nam'd

in

in merriment his Vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreine books can infuſe, will finde a paſſage to the people farre eaſier and ſhorter than an Indian voyage, though it ſhould be ſail'd either by the North of *Cataio* Eaſtward, or of *Canada* Weſtward, while our Spaniſh licencing gags the Engliſh Preſſe never ſo ſeverely. But on the other ſide that infection which is from books of controverſie in Religion, is more doubtfull and dangerous to the learned, then to the ignorant; and yet thoſe books muſt be permitted untoucht by the licencer. It will be hard to inſtance where any ingnorant man hath bin ever ſeduc't by Papiſticall book in Engliſh, unleſſe it were commended

and

and expounded to him by ſome of that Clergy: and indeed all ſuch tractats whether falſe or true are as the Propheſie of *Iſaiah* was to the *Eunuch*, not to be *underſtood without a guide*. But of our Prieſts and Doctors how many have bin corrupted by ſtudying the comments of Jeſuits and *Sorboniſts*, and how faſt they could transfuſe that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and ſad. It is not forgot, ſince the acute and diſtinct *Arminius* was perverted meerly by the peruſing of a nameleſſe diſcours writt'n at *Delf*, which at firſt he took in hand to confute. Seeing therefore that thoſe books, & thoſe in great abundance which are likelieſt to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be ſuppreſt

preſt without the fall of learning, and of all ability in diſputation, and that theſe books of either ſort are moſt and ſooneſt catching to the learned, from whom to the common people what ever is hereticall or diſſolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evill manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thouſand other ways which cannot be ſtopt, and evill doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might alſo doe without writing, and ſo beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous enterpriſe of licencing can be exempted from the number of vain and impoſſible attempts. And he who were pleaſantly diſpos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of

that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by ſhutting his Parkgate. Beſides another inconvenience, if learned men be the firſt receivers out of books & diſpredders both of vice and error, how ſhall the licencers themſelves be confided in, unleſſe we can conferr upon them, or they aſſume to themſelves above all others in the Land, the grace of infallibility, and uncorruptedneſſe? And again, if it be true, that a wiſe man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the droſſieſt volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the beſt book, yea or without book, there is no reaſon that we ſhould deprive a wiſe man of any advantage to his wiſdome, while we ſeek to reſtrain from a fool, that which being

reſtrain'd

reſtrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there ſhould be ſo much exactneſſe always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we ſhould in the judgement of *Ariſtotle* not only, but of *Salomon*, and of our Saviour, not voutſafe him good precepts, and by conſequence not willingly admit him to good books; as being certain that a wiſe man will make better uſe of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of ſacred Scripture. 'Tis next alleg'd we muſt not expoſe ourſelves to temptations without neceſſity, and next to that, not imploy our time in vain things. To both theſe objections one anſwer will ſerve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men ſuch books are not temptations,

nor vanities; but uſefull drugs and materialls wherewith to temper and compoſe effective and ſtrong med'cins, which mans life cannot want. The reſt, as children and childiſh men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare theſe working mineralls, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the licencing that Sainted Inquiſition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this order of licencing conduces nothing to the end for which it was fram'd; and hath almoſt prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when ſhe gets a free and willing hand, opens her ſelf faſter, then the

the pace of method and diſcours can overtake her. It was the taſk which I began with, To ſhew that no Nation or well inſtituted State, if they valu'd books at all, did ever uſe this way of licencing; and it might be anſwer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately diſcover'd. To which I return, that as it was a thing ſlight and obvious to think on, ſo if it had bin difficult to finde out, there wanted not among them long ſince, who ſuggeſted ſuch a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgement, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cauſe of their not uſing it. *Plato*, a man of high autority indeed, but leaſt of all for his Commonwealth, in the

book of his laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancie with making many edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him, wish had bin rather buried and excus'd in the *genial* cups of an *Academick* night-sitting. By which laws he seems to tolerat no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practicall traditions, to the attainment whereof a Library of smaller bulk then his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man, what he had writt'n, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and allow'd it: But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had

imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not elſe a Law-giver to himſelf, but a tranſgreſſor, and to be expell'd by his own Magiſtrates; both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetuall reading of *Sophron*, *Mimus*, and *Ariſtophanes*, books of groſſeſt infamy, and alſo for commending the latter of them though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant *Dionyſius*, who had little need of ſuch traſh to ſpend his time on? But that he knew this licencing of Poems had reference and dependence to many other proviſo's there ſet down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place: and ſo neither he him-

ſelf, nor any Magiſtrat, or City ever imitated that cours, which tak'n apart from thoſe other collaterall injunctions muſt needs be vain and fruitleſſe. For if they fell upon one kind of ſtrictneſſe, unleſſe their care were equall to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind, that ſingle endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to ſhut and fortifie one gate againſt corruption, and be neceſſitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners, we muſt regulat all recreations and paſtimes, all that is delightfull to man. No muſick muſt be heard, no ſong be ſet or ſung, but what is grave and *Dorick*. There muſt be licencing dancers, that

that no geſture, motion, or deportment, be taught our youth but what by their allowance ſhall be thought honeſt; for ſuch *Plato* was provided of; It will ask more then the work of twenty licencers to examin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittars in every houſe; they muſt not be ſuffer'd to prattle as they doe, but muſt be licenc'd what they may ſay. And who ſhall ſilence all the airs and madrigalls, that whiſper ſoftnes in chambers? The Windows alſo, and the *Balcone's* muſt be thought on, there are ſhrewd books, with dangerous frontiſpices ſet to ſale; who ſhall prohibit them, ſhall twenty licenſers? The villages alſo muſt have their viſitors to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck

rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry, and the gammuth of every *municipal* fidler, for theſe are the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*. Next, what more Nationall corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, then houſhold glutton-ny; who ſhall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what ſhall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent thoſe houſes where drunk'nes is ſold and harbour'd? Our garments alſo ſhould be referr'd to the licencing of ſome more ſober work-maſters to ſee them cut into a leſſe wanton garb. Who ſhall regulat all the mixt converſation of our youth, male and female together, as is the faſhion of this Country, who ſhall ſtill appoint what ſhall be diſcours'd, what

pre-

preſum'd, and no furder? Laſtly, who ſhall forbid and ſeparat all idle reſort, all evill company? Theſe things will be, and muſt be; but how they ſhall be left hurtfull, how left enticing, herein conſiſts the grave and governing wiſdom of a State. To ſequeſter out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* polities, which never can be drawn into uſe, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wiſely as in this world of evill, in the mid'ſt whereof GOD hath plac't us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato's* licencing of books will doe this, which neceſſarily pulls along with it ſo many other kinds of licencing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet fruſtrat; but thoſe unwritt'n, or at leaſt uncon-

ſtraining

ſtraining laws of vertuous education, religious and civill nurture, which *Plato* there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the ſuſtainers of every writt'n Statute; theſe they be which will bear chief ſway in ſuch matters as theſe, when all licencing will be eaſily eluded. Impunity and remiſſenes, for certain are the bane of a Commonwealth, but here the great art lyes to diſcern in what the law is to bid reſtraint and puniſhment, and in what things perſwaſion only is to work. If every action which is good, or evill in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance and preſcription, and compulſion, what were vertue but a name, what praiſe could be then due to well-doing, what gram-

grammercy to be ſober, juſt or continent? many there be that complain of divin Providence for ſuffering *Adam* to tranſgreſſe, fooliſh tongues! when GOD gave him reaſon, he gave him freedom to chooſe, for reaſon is but chooſing; he had bin elſe a meer artificiall *Adam*, ſuch an *Adam* as he is in the motions. We our ſelves eſteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: GOD therefore left him free, ſet before him a provoking object, ever almoſt in his eyes herein conſiſted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praiſe of his abſtinence. Wherefore did he creat paſſions within us, pleaſures round about us, but that theſe rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu? They

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are not skilfull conſiderers of human things, who imagin to remove ſin by removing the matter of ſin; for, beſides that it is a huge heap increaſing under the very act of diminiſhing, though ſome part of it may for a time be withdrawn from ſome perſons, it cannot from all, in ſuch a univerſall thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the ſin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treaſure, he has yet one jewell left; ye cannot bereave him of his covetouſneſſe. Baniſh all objects of luſt, ſhut up all youth into the ſevereſt diſcipline that can be exercis'd in any her mitage, ye cannot make them chaſte, that came not thither ſo: ſuch great care and wiſdom is requir'd to the right ma-

managing of this point. Suppoſe we could expell ſin by this means: look how much we thus expell of ſin, ſo much we expell of vertue: for the matter of them both is the ſame; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This juſtifies the high providence of God, who though he command us temperance, juſtice, continence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profuſenes all deſirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and ſatiety. Why ſhould we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or ſcanting thoſe means, which books freely permitted are, both to the triall of vertue, and the exerciſe of truth. It would be better done to learn that the

law

law muſt needs be frivolous which goes to reſtrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good, and to evill. And were I the chooſer, a dram of well-doing ſhould be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evill-doing. For God ſure eſteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous perſon, more then the reſtraint of ten vitious. And albeit what ever thing we hear or ſee, ſitting, walking, travelling, or converſing, may be fitly call'd our book, and is of the ſame effect that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far inſufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not ſee, not once or oftner, but

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weekly that continu'd Court-libell againſt the Parlament and City, Printed, as the wet ſheets can witnes, and diſpers't among us, for all that licencing can doe? yet this is the prime ſervice a man would think, wherein this order ſhould give proof of it ſelf. If it were executed, you'l ſay. But certain, if execution be remiſſe or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other books. If then the order ſhall not be vain and fruſtrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye muſt repeal and proſcribe all ſcandalous and unlicenc't books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a liſt, that all may know which are condemn'd, and which not; and ordain

that no forrein books be deliver'd out of cuſtody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overſeers, and thoſe no vulgar men. There be alſo books which are partly uſefull and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will aſk as many more officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when the multitude of books encreaſe upon their hands, ye muſt be fain to catalogue all thoſe Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbidd the importation of their whole ſuſpected *typography*. In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye muſt reform it perfectly

ly according to the model of *Trent* and *Sevil*, which I know ye abhorre to doe. Yet though ye ſhould condiſcend to this, which GOD forbid, the order ſtill would be but fruitleſſe and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent ſects and ſchiſms, who is ſo unread or ſo uncatechis'd in ſtory, that hath not heard of many ſects refuſing books as a hindrance, and preſerving their doctrine unmixt for many ages, only by unwritten traditions. The Chriſtian faith, for that was once a ſchiſm, is not unknown to have ſpread all over *Aſia*, ere any Goſpel or Epiſtle was ſeen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aym'd at, look into Italy and Spain, whether thoſe places be one ſcruple the better, the

honeſter, the wiſer, the chaſter, ſince all the inquiſitionall rigor that hath bin executed upon books.

Another reaſon, whereby to make it plain that this order will miſſe the end it ſeeks, conſider by the quality which ought to be in every licencer. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judge to ſit upon the birth, or death of books whether they may be wafted into this world, or not, had need to be a man above the common meaſure, both ſtudious, learned, and judicious; there may be elſe no mean miſtakes in the cenſure of what is paſſable or not; which is alſo no mean injury. If he be of ſuch worth as behoovs him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleaſing Journey-work

work, a greater loſſe of time levied upon his head, then to be made the perpetuall reader of unchoſen books and pamphlets, oftimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable unleſſe at certain ſeaſons; but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand ſcars legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the faireſt Print, is an impoſition which I cannot beleeve how he that values time, and his own ſtudies, or is but of a ſenſible noſtrill ſhould be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the preſent licencers to be pardon'd for ſo thinking: who doubtleſſe took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the Parlament, whoſe command perhaps

made all things ſeem eaſie and unlaborious to them ; but that this ſhort triall hath wearied them out already, their own expreſſions and excuſes to them who make ſo many journeys to ſollicit their licence, are teſtimony anough. Seeing therefore thoſe who now poſſeſſe the imployment, by all evident ſigns wiſh themſelves well ridd of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours is ever likely to ſucceed them, except he mean to put himſelf to the ſalary of a Preſſe-corrector, we may eaſily foreſee what kind of licencers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remiſſe, or baſely pecuniary. This is what I had to ſhew wherein this order cannot conduce

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to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I laſtly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifeſt hurt it cauſes, in being firſt the greateſt diſcouragement and affront, that can be offered to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats, upon every leaſt breath of a motion to remove pluralities, and diſtribute more equally Church revenu's, that then all learning would be for ever daſht and diſcourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cauſe to think that the tenth part of learning ſtood or fell with the Clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a ſordid and unworthy ſpeech of any Churchman who had a competency left

him. If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study, and love lerning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose publisht labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgement & the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop

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a ſciſm, or ſomething of corruption, is the greateſt diſpleaſure and indignity to a free and knowing ſpirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at ſchool, if we have only ſcapt the ferular, to come under the feſcu of an *Imprimatur?* if ſerious and elaborat writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar lad under his Pedagogue muſt not be utter'd without the curſory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licencer. He who is not truſted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evill, and ſtanding to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himſelf reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born, for

for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he ſummons up all his reaſon and deliberation to aſſiſt him; he ſearches, meditats, is induſtrious, and likely conſults and conferrs with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himſelf to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the moſt conſummat act of his fidelity and ripeneſſe, no years, no induſtry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that ſtate of maturity, as not to be ſtill miſtruſted and ſuſpected, unleſſe he carry all his conſiderat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of *Palladian* oyl, to the haſty view of an unleaſur'd licencer, perhaps much his younger,

younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulſt, or ſlighted, muſt appear in Print like a punie with his guardian, and his cenſors hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and ſurety, that he is no idiot, or ſeducer, it cannot be but a diſhonor and derogation to the author, to the book, to the priviledge and dignity of Learning. And what if the author ſhall be one ſo copious of fancie, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licencing, while the book is yet under the Preſſe, which not ſeldom happ'ns to the beſt and diligenteſt writers: and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The Prin-

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ter dares not go beyond his licenc't copy; ſo often then muſt the author trudge to his leav-giver, that thoſe his new inſertions may be viewd; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licencer, for it muſt be the ſame man, can either be found, or found at leiſure; mean while either the Preſſe muſt ſtand ſtill, which is no ſmall damage, or the author looſe his accurateſt thoughts, & ſend the book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greateſt melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a Doctor in his book as he ought to be, or elſe had better be ſilent, whenas all he teaches,

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all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licencer to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgement. When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantick licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a coits distance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructer that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licencer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgement? The State Sir, replies the Stationer, but has a quick return, The State shall be my governours, but not my criticks; they may be mistak'n in the

the choice of a licencer, as eaſily as this licencer may be miſtak'n in an author: This is ſome common ſtuffe; and he might adde from Sir *Francis Bacon*, That *ſuch authoriz'd books are but the language of the times*. For though a licencer ſhould happ'n to be judicious more then ordnary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next ſucceſſion, yet his very office and his commiſſion enjoyns him to let paſſe nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceaſed author, though never ſo famous in his life-time, and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be Printed, or Reprinted, if there be found in his book one ſentence of a ventrous edge, utter'd

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in the height of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit, yet not ſuiting with every low decrepit humor of their own, though it were *Knox* himſelf, the Reformer of a Kingdom that ſpake it, they will not pardon him their daſh: the ſenſe of that great man ſhall to all poſterity be loſt, for the fearfulneſſe, or the preſumptuous raſhneſſe of a perfunctory licencer. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of greateſt conſequence to be faithfully publiſht, I could now inſtance, but ſhall forbear till a more convenient ſeaſon. Yet if theſe things be not reſented ſeriouſly and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that ſuch iron moulds as

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theſe ſhall have autority to knaw out the choiſeſt periods of exquiſiteſt books, and to commit ſuch a treacherous fraud againſt the orphan remainders of worthieſt men after death, the more ſorrow will belong to that haples race of men, whoſe misfortune it is to have underſtanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more then worldly wiſe; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and ſlothfull, to be a common ſtedfaſt dunce will be the only pleaſant life, and only in requeſt.

And as it is a particular diſeſteem of every knowing perſon alive, and moſt injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, ſo to me it ſeems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole

whole Nation. I cannot ſet ſo light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and ſolid judgement which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good ſoever, much leſſe that it ſhould not paſſe except their ſuperintendence be over it, except it be ſifted and ſtrain'd with their ſtrainers, that it ſhould be uncurrant without their manuall ſtamp. Truth and underſtanding are not ſuch wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and ſtatutes, and ſtandards. We muſt not think to make a ſtaple commodity of all the knowledge in the Land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloath, and our wooll packs. What is it but a ſervitude like that im-

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pos'd by the Philiſtims, not to be allow'd the ſharpning of our own axes and coulters, but we muſt repair from all quarters to twenty licencing forges. Had any one writt'n and divulg'd erroneous things & ſcandalous to honeſt life, miſuſing and forfeiting the eſteem had of his reaſon among men, if after conviction this only cenſure were adjudg'd him, that he ſhould never henceforth write, but what were firſt examin'd by an appointed officer, whoſe hand ſhould be annext to paſſe his credit for him, that now he might be ſafely read, it could not be apprehended leſſe then a diſgracefull puniſhment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and thoſe that never yet thus offended, under ſuch a diffident

diffident and ſuſpectfull prohibition, may plainly be underſtood what a diſparagement it is. So much the more, when as dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffenſive books muſt not ſtirre forth without a viſible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people leſſe then a reproach; for if we be ſo jealous over them, as that we dare not truſt them with an Engliſh pamphlet, what doe we but cenſure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people; in ſuch a ſick and weak eſtate of faith and diſcretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licencer? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in thoſe Popiſh places

where the Laity are moſt hated and diſpis'd the ſame ſtrictnes is us'd over them. Wiſdom we cannot call it, becauſe it ſtops but one breach of licence, nor that neither; when as thoſe corruptions which it ſeeks to prevent, break in faſter at other dores which cannot be ſhut.

And in concluſion it reflects to the diſrepute of our Miniſters alſo, of whoſe labours we ſhould hope better, and of the proficiencie which thir flock reaps by them, then that after all this light of the Goſpel which is, and is to be, and all this continuall preaching, they ſhould be ſtill frequented with ſuch an unprincipl'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble, as that the whiffe of every new pamphlet ſhould ſtagger them out of thir catechiſm,

chiſm, and Chriſtian walking. This may have much reaſon to diſcourage the Miniſters when ſuch a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd looſe to three ſheets of paper without a licencer, that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in ſuch numbers, and ſuch volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other books unſalable, ſhould not be armor anough againſt one ſingle *enchiridion*, without the caſtle St. *Angelo* of an *Imprimatur*.

And leſt ſom ſhould perſwade ye, Lords and Commons, that theſe arguments of lerned mens diſcouragement at this your order, are meer flouriſhes, and

not reall, I could recount what I have ſeen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquiſition tyrannizes; when I have ſat among their learned men, for that honor I had, and bin counted happy to be born in ſuch a place of *Philoſophic* freedom, as they ſuppos'd England was, while themſelves did nothing but bemoan the ſervil condition into which lerning amongſt them was brought; that this was it which had dampt the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had bin there writt'n now theſe many years but flattery and fuſtian. There it was that I found and viſited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a priſner to the Inquiſition, for thinking in Aſtronomy otherwiſe than the Franciſcan and Dominican licencers

licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudeſt under the Prelaticall yoak, nevertheleſſe I took it as a pledge of future happines, that other Nations were ſo perſwaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope that thoſe Worthies were then breathing in her air, who ſhould be her leaders to ſuch a deliverance, as ſhall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finiſh. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts utter'd againſt the Inquiſition, the ſame I ſhou'd hear by as lerned men at home utterd in time of Parlament againſt an order of licencing; and that ſo gene-

rally, that when I had diſclos'd myſelf a companion of their diſcontent, I might ſay, if without envy, that he whom an honeſt *quæſtorſhip* had indear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd againſt *Verres*, then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and reſpected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perſwaſions, that I would not deſpair to lay together that which juſt reaſon ſhould bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeſerved thraldom upon learning. That this is not therefore the disburdning of a particular fancie, but the common grievance of all thoſe who had prepar'd their minds and ſtudies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth

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in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may ſatisfie. And in their name I ſhall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the generall murmur is; that if it come to inquiſitioning again, and licencing, and that we are ſo timorous of our ſelvs, and ſo ſuſpicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the ſhaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are, if ſome who but of late were little better then ſilenc't from preaching, ſhall come now to ſilence us from reading, except what they pleaſe, it cannot be gueſt what is intended by ſom but a ſecond tyranny over learning: and will ſoon put it out of controverſie that Biſhops and Presbyters are the ſame to us both name and thing. That thoſe evills

evills of Prelaty which before from five or fix and twenty Sees were diſtributivly charg'd upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obſcure to us: whenas now the Paſtor of a ſmall unlearned Pariſh, on the ſudden ſhall be exalted Arch-biſhop over a large dioces of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a myſticall pluraliſt. He who but of late cry'd down the ſole ordination of every novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd ſole juriſdiction over the ſimpleſt Pariſhioner, ſhall now at home in his privat chair aſſume both theſe over worthieſt and excellenteſt books and ableſt authors that write them. This is not, Yee Covnants and Proteſtations that we have made, this

this is not to put down Prelaty, this is but to chop an Epiſcopacy, this is but to tranſlate the Palace *Metropolitan* from one kind of dominion into another, this is but an old canonicall ſlight of *commuting* our penance. To ſtartle thus betimes at a meer unlicenc't pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every Chriſtian meeting. But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of juſtice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be ſo puſillanimous. While things are yet not conſtituted in Religion, that freedom of writing ſhould be reſtrain'd by a diſcipline imitated from the Prelats, and

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learnt by them from the Inquisition to shut us up all again into the breast of a licencer, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the finenes of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open? it was the peoples birthright and priviledge in time of Parlament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the Episcopall arts begin to bud again, the cruse of truth must run no more oyle, liberty of Printing must

muſt be enthrall'd again under a Prelaticall commiſſion of twenty, the priviledge of the people nullify'd, and which is wors, the freedom of learning muſt groan again, and to her old fetters; all this the Parlament yet ſitting. Although their own late arguments and defences againſt the Prelats might remember them that this obſtructing violence meets for the moſt part with an event utterly oppoſite to the end which it drives at: inſtead of ſuppreſſing ſects and ſchiſms, it raiſes them and inveſts them with a reputation: *The puniſhing of wits enhaunces their autority*, ſaith the Viſcount St. *Albans, and a forbidd'n writing is thought t o be a certainſpark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who ſeeke to*

tread it out. This order therefore may prove a nurſing mother to ſects, but I ſhall eaſily ſhew how it will be a ſtep-dame to Truth: and firſt by diſinabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uſes to conſider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exerciſe, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a ſtreaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progreſſion, they ſick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretick in the truth; and if he beleeve things only becauſe his Paſtor ſayes ſo, or the Aſſembly ſo determins, without knowing other reaſon, though his

his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds, becomes his hereſie. There is not any burden that ſom would gladlier poſt off to another, then the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be of Proteſtants and profeſſors who live and dye in as arrant an implicit faith, as any lay Papiſt of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleaſure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffick ſo entangl'd, and of ſo many piddling accounts, that of all myſteries he cannot skill to keep a ſtock going upon that trade. What ſhould he doe? fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but reſolvs to give over

over toyling and to find himſelf out ſom factor, to whoſe care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; ſom Divine of note and eſtimation that muſt be. To him he adheres, reſigns the whole ware-houſe of his religion, with all the locks and keyes into his cuſtody; and indeed makes the very perſon of that man his religion; eſteems his aſſociating with him a ſufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may ſay his religion is now no more within himſelf, but is become a dividuall movable, and goes and comes neer him, according as that good man frequents the houſe. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feaſts him, lodges him; his religion comes

home

home at night, praies, is liberally ſupt, and ſumptuouſly laid to ſleep, riſes, is ſaluted, and after the malmſey, or ſome well ſpic't bruage, and better breakfaſted then he whoſe morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany* and *Ieruſalem*, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the ſhop trading all day without his religion.

Another ſort there be who when they hear that all things ſhall be order'd, all things regulated and ſetl'd; nothing writt'n but what paſſes through the cuſtom houſe of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and the poundaging of all free ſpok'n truth, will ſtrait give themſelves up into your hands, mak'em &

cut 'em out what religion ye pleaſe; there be delights, there be recreations and jolly paſtimes that will fetch the day about from ſun to ſun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightfull dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have tak'n ſo ſtrictly, and ſo unalterably into their own pourveying. Theſe are the fruits which a dull eaſe and ceſſation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wiſht, were ſuch an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it ſtarch us all into? doubtles a ſtanch and ſolid peece of frame-work, as any January could freeze together.

Nor

Nor much better will be the conſequence ev'n among the Clergy themſelves; it is no new thing never heard of before, for a *parochiall* Miniſter, who has his reward, and is at his *Hercules* pillars in a warm benefice, to be eaſily inclinable, if he have nothing elſe that may rouſe up his ſtudies, to finiſh his circuit in an Engliſh concordance and a *topic folio*, the gatherings and ſavings of a ſober graduatſhip, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*, treading the conſtant round of certain common doctrinall heads, attended with their uſes, motives, marks and means, out of which as out of an alphabet or ſol fa by forming and tranſforming, joyning and diſ-joyning variouſly a little book-craft, and two hours

meditation might furniſh him unſpeakably to the performance of more then a weekly charge of ſermoning: not to reck'n up the infinit helps of interlinearies, breviaries, *ſynopſes*, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons ready printed and pil'd up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. *Thomas* in his veſtry, and adde to boot St. *Martin*, and St. *Hugh*, have not within their hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all ſorts ready made: ſo that penury he never need fear of Pulpit proviſion, having where ſo plenteouſly to refreſh his magazin. But if his rear and flanks be not impal'd, if his back dore be not ſecur'd by the rigid licencer, but that a bold book may now and

and then iſſue forth, and give the aſſault to ſome of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to ſtand in watch, to ſet good guards and ſentinells about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inſpectors, fearing leſt any of his flock be ſeduc't, who alſo then would be better inſtructed, better exercis'd and diſciplin'd. And God ſend that the fear of this diligence which muſt then be us'd, doe not make us affect the lazines of a licencing Church.

For if we be ſure we are in the right, and doe not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourſelves condemn not our own weak and frivolous

teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conſcience, for ought we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, ſhall not privily from houſe to houſe, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publiſh to the world what his opinion is, what his reaſons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be found. Chriſt urg'd it as wherewith to juſtifie himſelf, that he preacht in publick; yet writing is more publick then preaching; and more eaſie to refutation, if need be, there being ſo many whoſe buſineſſe and profeſſion meerly it is, to be the champions of Truth; which if they

neglect,

neglect, what can be imputed but their ſloth, or unability?

Thus much we are hinder'd and diſinur'd by this cours of licencing toward the true knowledge of what we ſeem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licencers themſelves in the calling of their Miniſtery, more then any ſecular employment, if they will diſcharge that office as they ought, ſo that of neceſſity they muſt neglect either the one duty or the other, I inſiſt not, becauſe it is a particular, but leave it to their own conſcience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible loſſe, and detriment that this plot of licencing

puts us to, more then if ſom enemy at ſea ſhould ſtop up all our hav'ns and ports, and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richeſt marchandize, Truth : nay it was firſt eſtabliſht and put in practice by Antichriſtian malice and myſtery on ſet purpoſe to extinguiſh, if it were poſſible, the light of Reformation, and to ſettle falſhood; little differing from that policie wherewith the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confeſt, we are to ſend our thanks and vows to heav'n, louder then moſt of Nations, for that great meaſure of truth which we enjoy, eſpecially in thoſe main points between us and the Pope, with his appertinences the

the Prelats: but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmoſt proſpect of reformation, that the mortall glaſſe wherein we contemplate, can ſhew us, till we come to *beatific* viſion, that man by this very opinion declares, that he is yet farre ſhort of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Maſter, and was a perfect ſhape moſt glorious to look on: but when he aſcended, and his Apoſtles after him were laid aſleep, then ſtrait aroſe a wicked race of deceivers, who as that ſtory goes of the *Ægyptian Typhon* with his conſpirators, how they dealt with the good *Oſiris*, took the virgin Truth, hewd her lovely form into a thouſand peeces,

peeces, and featter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever ſince, the ſad friends of Truth, ſuch as durſt appear, imitating the carefull ſearch that *Iſis* made for the mangl'd body of *Oſiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb ſtill as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever ſhall doe, till her Maſters ſecond comming; he ſhall bring together every joynt and member, and ſhall mould them into an immortall feature of lovelines and perfection. Suffer not theſe licencing prohibitions to ſtand at every place of opportunity forbidding and diſturbing them that continue ſeeking, that continue to do our obſequies to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint.

We

We boaſt our light; but if we look not wiſely on the Sun itſelf, it ſmites us into darknes. Who can diſcern thoſe planets that are oft *Combuſt*, and thoſe ſtars of brighteſt magnitude that riſe and ſet with the Sun, untill the oppoſite motion of their orbs bring them to ſuch a place in the firmament, where they may be ſeen evning or morning. The light which we have gain'd, was giv'n us, not to be ever ſtaring on, but by it to diſcover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a Prieſt, the unmitring of a Biſhop, and the removing him from off the *Presbyterian* ſhoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule

of

of life both economicall and politicall be not lookt into and reform'd, we have lookt ſo long upon the blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* hath beacon'd up to us, that we are ſtark blind. There be who perpetually complain of ſchiſms and ſects, and make it ſuch a calamity that any man diſſents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which cauſes the diſturbing, who neither will hear with meeknes, nor can convince, yet all muſt be ſuppreſt which is not found in their *Syntagma*. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite thoſe diſſevered peeces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be ſtill ſearching what we know

know not, by what we know, ſtill cloſing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is *homogeneal*, and proportionall) this is the golden rule in *Theology* as well as in Arithmetick, and makes up the beſt harmony in a Church; not the forc't and outward union of cold, and neutrall, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England, conſider what Nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governours: a Nation not ſlow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing ſpirit, acute to invent, ſuttle and ſinewy to diſcours, not beneath the reach of any point the higheſt that human capacity can ſoar to. Therefore the ſtudies of learning in her deepeſt

deepeſt Sciences have bin ſo ancient, and ſo eminent among us, that Writers of good antiquity, and ableſt judgement have bin perſwaded that ev'n the ſchool of *Pythagoras*, and the *Perſian* wiſdom took beginning from the old Philoſophy of this Iland. And that wiſe and civill Roman, *Julius Agricola*, who govern'd once here for *Cæſar*, preferr'd the naturall wits of Britain, before the labour'd ſtudies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal *Tranſilvanian* ſends out yearly from as farre as the mountanous borders of *Ruſſia*, and beyond the *Hercynian* wildernes, not their youth, but their ſtay'd men, to learn our language, and our *theologic* arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour

and

and the love of heav'n we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why elſe was this nation chos'n before any other, that out of her as out of *Sion* ſhould be proclaim'd and founded forth the firſt tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all *Europ*. And had it not bin the obſtinat perverſnes of our Prelats againſt the divine and admirable ſpirit of *Wickleſ*, to ſuppreſſe him as a ſchiſmatic and *innovator*, perhaps neither the *Bohemian Huſſe* and *Jerom*, no nor the name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin*, had bin ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had bin completely ours. But now, as our obdurat Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter,

we

we are become hitherto the lateſt and backwardeſt Schollers, of whom GOD offer'd to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of ſigns, and by the generall inſtinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and ſolemnly expreſſe their thoughts, GOD is decreeing to begin ſome new and great period in his Church, ev'n to the reforming of Reformation itſelf: what does he then but reveal Himſelf to his ſervants, and as his manner is, firſt to his Engliſh-men; I ſay as his manner is, firſt to us, though we mark not the method of his counſels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vaſt City; a City of refuge, the manſion-houſe of liberty, encompaſt and ſurrounded with his protection;

tection; the ſhop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to faſhion out the plates and inſtruments of armed Juſtice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, ſitting by their ſtudious lamps, muſing, ſearching, revolving new notions and idea's wherewith to preſent, as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation: others as faſt reading, trying all things, aſſenting to the force of reaſon and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation ſo pliant and ſo prone to ſeek after knowledge? What wants there to ſuch a towardly and pregnant ſoile, but wiſe and faithfull labourers, to make a knowing peo-

ple, a nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies? We reck'n more then five months yet to harveſt; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much deſire to learn, there of neceſſity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under theſe fantaſtic terrors of ſect and ſchiſm, we wrong the earneſt and zealous thirſt after knowledge and underſtanding which God hath ſtirr'd up in this city. What ſome lament of, we rather ſhould rejoice at, ſhould rather praiſe this pious forwardnes among men, to reaſſume the ill deputed care of their Religion into their

own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and ſom grain of charity might win all theſe diligences to joyn, and unite into one generall and brotherly ſearch after Truth; could we but forgoe this Prelaticall tradition of crowding free conſciences and Chriſtian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if ſome great and worthy ſtranger ſhould come among us, wiſe to diſcern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, obſerving the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reaſonings in the purſuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as *Pirrhus* did, admiring the Ro-

man docility and courage, if ſuch were my *Epirots*, I would not deſpair the greateſt deſign that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet theſe are the men cry'd out againſt for ſchiſmaticks and ſectaries; as if, while the Temple of the LORD was building, ſome cutting, ſome ſquaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there ſhould be a ſort of irrationall men who could not conſider there muſt be many ſchiſms and many diſſections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the houſe of GOD can be built. And when every ſtone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world; neither can every peece of the building be

be of one form; nay rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall arises the goodly and the gracefull symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein *Moses* the great Prophet may sit in heav'n rejoycing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfill'd, when not only our sev'nty Elders, but all the Lords people are become Prophets. No marvell then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodnesse, as

Joſhua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weaknes are in agony, leſt theſe diviſions and ſubdiviſions will undoe us. The adverſarie again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have brancht themſelves out, ſaith he, ſmall anough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he ſees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches: nor will beware untill he ſee our ſmall divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unweildy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all theſe ſuppoſed ſects and ſchiſms, and that we ſhall not need that ſolicitude honeſt perhaps though over timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but

ſhall

ſhall laugh in the end, at thoſe malicious applauders of our differences, I have theſe reaſons to perſwade me.

Firſt, when a City ſhall be as it were beſieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infeſted, inroads and incurſions round, defiance and battell oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls, and ſuburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak'n up with the ſtudy of higheſt and moſt important matters to be reform'd, ſhould be diſputing, reaſoning, reading, inventing, diſcourſing, ev'n to a rarity, and admiration, things not before diſcourſt or writt'n of, argues firſt a ſingular good will, contentedneſſe and confidence in your pru-

dent foreſight, and ſafe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives it ſelf to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no ſmall number of as great ſpirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh beſieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that peece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon *Hanibal* himſelf encampt his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cherfull preſage of our happy ſucceſſe and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is freſh, the ſpirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rationall faculties, and thoſe in the acuteſt, and the perfect operations of wit and ſuttlety, it argues in what good plight and conſtitution

the

the body is, ſo when the cherfulneſſe of the people is ſo ſprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and ſafety, but to ſpare, and to beſtow upon the ſolideſt and ſublimeſt points of controverſie, and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatall decay, but caſting off the old and wrincl'd skin of corruption to outlive theſe pangs and wax young again, entring the glorious waies of Truth and proſperous vertue deſtin'd to become great and honourable in theſe latter ages. Methinks I ſee in my mind a noble and puiſſant Nation rouſing herſelf like a ſtrong man after ſleep, and ſhaking her invincible locks: Methinks I ſee her as an Eagle muſing her mighty youth,

youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unſcaling her long abuſed ſight at the fountain it ſelf of heav'nly radiance; while the whole noiſe of timorous and flocking birds, with thoſe alſo that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what ſhe means, and in their envious gabble would prognoſticat a year of ſects and ſchiſms.'

What ſhould ye doe then? ſhould ye ſuppreſſe all this flowry crop of knowledge and new light ſprung up and yet ſpringing daily in this City? ſhould ye ſet an *Oligarchy* of twenty engroſſers over it, to bring a famin upon our minds again, when we ſhall know nothing but what is meaſur'd to us by their buſhel?

Beleeve it, Lords and Commons, they who counſell ye to ſuch a ſuppreſſing, doe as good as bid ye ſuppreſſe your-ſelves; and I will ſoon ſhew how. If it be deſir'd to know the immediat cauſe of all this free writing and free ſpeaking, there cannot be aſſign'd a truer than your own mild, and free, and human govern-ment; it is the liberty, Lords and Com-mons, which your own valorous and happy counſels have purchaſt us, liberty which is the nurſe of all great wits; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlight-ned our ſpirits like the influence of heav'n; this is that which hath enfran-chis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our appre-henſions degrees above themſelves. Ye cannot make us now leſſe capable, leſſe know-

knowing, leſſe eagerly purſuing of the truth, unleſſe ye firſt make your ſelves, that made us ſo, leſſe the lovers, leſſe the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutiſh, formall, and flaviſh, as ye found us; but you then muſt firſt become that which ye cannot be, oppreſſive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the ſearch and expectation of greateſt and exacteſt things, is the iſſue of your owne virtu propagated in us; ye cannot ſuppreſſe that unleſſe ye reinforce an abrogated and mercileſſe law, that fathers may diſpatch at will their own children. And who ſhall then ſtick cloſeſt

eſt to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up armes for cote and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I diſpraiſe not the defence of juſt immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conſcience, above all liberties.

What would be beſt advis'd then, if it be found ſo hurtfull and ſo unequall to ſuppreſſe opinions for the newnes, or the unfutablenes to a cuſtomary acceptance, will not be my task to ſay; I only ſhall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not facrific'd his life and fortunes to the Church

Church and Commonwealth, we had not now miſt and bewayl'd a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am ſure; yet I for honours ſake, and may it be eternall to him, ſhall name him, the Lord *Brook*. He writing of Epiſcopacy, and by the way treating of ſects and ſchiſms, left Ye his vote, or rather now the laſt words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, ſo full of meeknes and breathing charity, that next to his laſt teſtament, who bequeath'd love and peace to his Diſciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility thoſe, however

ever they be miſcall'd, that deſire to live purely, in ſuch a uſe of GOD's ordinances, as the beſt guidance of their conſcience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in ſome diſconformity to ourſelves. The book it ſelf will tell us more at large, being publiſht to the world, and dedicated to the Parlament by him who both for his life and for his death deſerves, that what advice he left be not laid by without peruſall.

And now the time in ſpeciall is, by priviledge to write and ſpeak what may help to the furder diſcuſſing of matters in agitation. The temple of *Janus* with his two *controverſal* faces might now not unſignificantly be ſet open. And though all the windes of doctrin were let looſe

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to play upon the earth, ſo Truth be in the field, we do injurioufly by licencing and prohibiting to miſdoubt her ſtrength. Let her and Falſhood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the beſt and ſureſt ſuppreſſing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be ſent down among us, would think of other matters to be conſtitued beyond the diſcipline of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for ſhines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppoſe it, if it come not firſt in at their caſements. What a colluſion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wiſe man to uſe diligence,

gence, *to ſeek for wiſdom as for hidd'n treaſures* early and late, that another order ſhall enjoyn us to know nothing but by ſtatute. When a man hath bin labouring the hardeſt labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furniſht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reaſons as it were a battell raung'd, ſcatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adverſary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and ſun, if he pleaſe; only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to ſculk, to lay ambuſhments, to keep a narrow bridge of licencing where the challenger ſhould paſſe, though it be valour anough in ſouldierſhip, is but

weaknes and cowardiſe in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is ſtrong next to the Almighty? ſhe needs no policies, nor ſtratagems, nor licencings, to make her victorious, thoſe are the ſhifts and defences that error uſes againſt her power: give her but room, & do not bind her when ſhe ſleeps, for then ſhe ſpeaks not true, as the old *Proteus* did, who ſpake oracles only when he was caught & bound, but then rather ſhe turns herſelf into all ſhapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as *Micaiah* did before *Ahab*, untill ſhe be adjur'd into her own likenes. Yet is it not impoſſible that ſhe may have more ſhapes than one. What elſe is all that rank of things

things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this ſide, or on the other, without being unlike her ſelf? What but a vain ſhadow elſe is the abolition of *thoſe ordinances, that hand-writing nayl'd to the croſſe?* what great purchaſe is this Chriſtian liberty which *Paul* ſo often boaſts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day, or regards it not, may doe either to the LORD. How many other things might be tolerared in peace, and left to conſcience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief ſtrong hold of our hypocriſie to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a ſlaviſh print upon our necks; the ghoſt of a linnen decency yet haunts us. We

ſtumble and are impatient at the leaſt dividing of one viſible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentalls; and through our forwardnes to ſuppreſſe, and our backwardnes to recover any enthrall'd peece of truth out of the gripe of cuſtom, we care not to keep truth ſeparated from truth, which is the fierceſt rent and diſunion of all. We doe not ſee that while we ſtill affect by all means a rigid externall formality, we may as ſoon fall into a groſſe conforming ſtupidity, a ſtark and dead congealment of *wood and hay and ſtubble* forc't and frozen together, which is more to the ſudden degenerating of a Church than many *ſubdichotomies* of petty ſchiſms. Not that I can think well of every

every light ſeparation, or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and ſilver and pretious ſtones:* it is not poſſible for a man to ſever the wheat from the tares, the good fiſh from the other frie; that muſt be the Angels Miniſtery at the end of mortall things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they ſhould be? this doubtles is more wholſome, more prudent, and more Chriſtian, that many be tolerated, rather then all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open ſuperſtition, which as it extirpates all religions and civill ſupremacies, ſo it ſelf ſhould be extirpat, provided firſt that all charitable and compaſſionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and the miſled: that alſo which is

impious or evil abſolutely either againſt faith or maners no law can poſſibly permit, that intends not to unlaw it ſelf: but thoſe neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I ſpeak of, whether in ſome point of doctrine or of diſcipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt *the unity of Spirit*, if we could but find among us *the bond of peace*. In the mean while if any one would write, and bring his helpfull hand to the ſlow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have ſpok'n to him before others, or but ſeem'd at leaſt to ſpeak, who hath ſo bejeſuited us that we ſhould trouble that man with aſking licence to doe ſo worthy a deed? and not conſider this,

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that if it come to prohibiting, there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then truth it ſelf; whoſe firſt appearance to our eyes blear'd and dimm'd with prejudice and cuſtom, is more unſightly and unplauſible then many errors, ev'n as the perſon is of many a great man ſlight and contemptible to ſee to. And what doe they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none muſt be heard, but whom they like, is the worſt and newſt opinion of all others; and is the chief cauſe why ſects and ſchiſms doe ſo much abound, and true knowledge is kept at diſtance from us; beſides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God ſhakes a Kingdome with ſtrong and healthfull

commotions to a generall reforming, 'tis not untrue that many ſectaries and falſe teachers are then buſieſt in ſeducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raiſes to his own work men of rare abilities, and more then common induſtry not only to look back and reviſe what hath bin taught heretofore, but to gain furder and goe on, ſome new enlightn'd ſteps in the diſcovery of truth. For ſuch is the order of God's enlightning his Church, to diſpenſe and deal out by degrees his beam, ſo as our earthly eyes may beſt ſuſtain it. Neither is God appointed and confin'd, where and out of what place theſe his choſen ſhall be firſt heard to ſpeak; for he ſees not as man ſees, chooſes not as man chooſes, leſt

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we ſhould devote our ſelves again to ſet places, and aſſemblies, and outward callings of men; planting our faith one while in the old Convocation-houſe, and another while in the Chappell at Weſtminſter; when all the faith and religion that ſhall be there canoniz'd, is not ſufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient inſtruction to ſupple the leaſt bruiſe of conſcience, to edifie the meaneſt Chriſtian, who deſires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human truſt, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no though *Harry* the 7. himſelf there, with all his leige tombs about him, ſhould lend them voices from the dead, to ſwell their number. And if

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the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading ſchiſmaticks, what witholds us but our ſloth, our ſelf-will, and diſtruſt in the right cauſe, that we doe not give them gentle meetings and gentle diſmiſſions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberall and frequent audience; if not for their ſakes, yet for our own? ſeeing no man who hath taſted learning, but will confeſſe the many waies of profiting by thoſe who not contented with ſtale receits are able to manage, and ſet forth new poſitions to the world. And were they but as the duſt and cinders of our feet, ſo long as in that notion they may yet ſerve to poliſh and brighten the armoury of Truth, ev'n for that reſpect

they were not utterly to be caſt away. But if they be of thoſe whom God hath fitted for the ſpeciall uſe of theſe times with eminent and ample gifts, and thoſe perhaps neither among the prieſts, nor among the Phariſees, and we in the haſt of a precipitant zeal ſhall make no diſtinction, but reſolve to ſtop their mouths, becauſe we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we underſtand them, no leſſe than woe to us, while thinking thus to defend the Goſpel, we are found the perſecutors.

There have bin not a few ſince the beginning of this Parlament, both of the Presbytery and others who by their unlicen't books to the contempt of an

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Imprimatur firſt broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to ſee day: I hope that none of thoſe were the perſwaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themſelves have wrought ſo much good by contemning. But if neither the check that *Moſes* gave to young *Joſhua*, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young *John*, who was ſo ready to prohibit thoſe whom he thought unlicenc't, be not anough to admoniſh our Elders how unacceptable to God their teſty mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own remembrance what evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licencing, and what good they themſelves have begun by tranſgreſſing it, be

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not anough, but that they will perſwade, and execute the moſt *Dominican* part of the Inquiſition over us, and are already with one foot in the ſtirrup ſo active at ſuppreſſing, it would be no unequall diſtribution in the firſt place to ſuppreſſe the ſuppreſſors themſelves; whom the change of their condition hath puſt up, more then their late experience of harder times hath made wiſe.

And as for regulating the Preſſe, let no man think to have the honour of adviſing ye better then your ſelves have done in that Order publiſht next before this, that no book be Printed, unleſſe the Printers and the Authors name, or at leaſt the Printers be regiſter'd. Thoſe which

which otherwiſe come forth, if they be found miſchievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timelieſt and the moſt effectuall remedy, that mans prevention can uſe. For this *authentic* Spaniſh policy of licencing books, if I have ſaid ought, will prove the moſt unlicenc't book it ſelf within a ſhort while; and was the immediat image of a Star-chamber decree to that purpoſe made in thoſe very times when that court did the reſt of thoſe her pious works, for which ſhe is now fall'n from the Starres with *Lucifer*. Whereby ye may gueſſe what kinde of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion, or good manners there was at the contriving, although with

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ſingular hypocriſie it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent Order ſo well conſtituted before, if we may beleeve thoſe men whoſe profeſſion gives them cauſe to enquire moſt, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of ſome old *patentees* and *monopolizers* in the trade of book-ſelling; who under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the juſt retaining of each man his ſeverall copy, which GOD forbid ſhould be gainſaid, brought divers gloſing colours to the Houſe, which were indeed but colours, and ſerving to no end except it be to exerciſe a ſuperiority over their neigh-

neighbours, men who doe not therefore labour in an honeſt profeſſion to which learning is indetted, that they ſhould be made other mens vaſſalls. Another end is thought was aym'd at by ſome of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the eaſier ſcape abroad, as the event ſhews. But of theſe *Sophiſms* and *Elenchs* of marchandize I skill not: This I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almoſt incident; for what Magiſtrate may not be miſ-inform'd, and much the ſooner, if liberty of printing be reduc't into the power of a few; but to redreſſe willingly and

ſpeedily what hath bin err'd, and in higheſt autority to eſteem a plain advertiſement more than others have done a ſumptuous bribe, is a virtue (honour'd Lords and Commons) anſwerable to Your higheſt actions, and whereof none can participat but greateſt and wiſeſt men.

THE END.